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TESTING AN APPROACH TO ORGANIZING AMONG NEWLY ARRIVED HISPANIC MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

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TESTING AN APPROACH TO ORGANIZING AMONG NEWLY ARRIVED HISPANIC MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

by

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

DIRECT SERVICE, Refers to a personal service provided by an agency or by a professional engaged in private practice.

IMMIGRANT, Refers to persons admitted as permanent residents who after five years of residency in the U. S., are eligible to apply for citizenship.

KEY INFORMANT, Are those persons who work or live in the target area and who are in a position to know the Dominican community's needs and utilization patterns.

MIGRANT, This term will be used interchangeably to refer to persons coming to the United States from abroad whether as permanent residents (immigrants), non-immigrants or illegals.

NON-IMMIGRANT, Persons admitted temporarily, such as tourists and students and who are not eligible to apply for citizenship unless they change their status to "immigrants".

UNDOCUMENTED ALIEN, Refers to persons who have either entered illigally or who have stayed after their temporary (non-immigrant) visas have expired.

VOODOO OR VODUN, (Dahoman vodun, spirit), name of the popular religion of Haiti; called Santeria in Cuba, Orisha in Brazil, Obeah in Jamaica.
Vodun is a mixture of Christian beliefs and African rites.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Focus of the Project

Available evidence indicates that there has been a dramatic increase in the Spanish-speaking population in the United States during the last twenty years. In 1970 the Unites States Census Bureau estimated that ten million persons of Spanish origin were living in this country; the revised figure for 1978 places the total at twelve million. This figure includes an estimated 1.8 million Puerto Ricans who are citizens of the United States. In addition, the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that there are more than eight million "illegal" Spanish-speaking aliens. The reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service list seventeen different Hispano American countries including: Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico.

After the Mexicans, Dominicans constitute the largest Hispanic group migrating to the United States. This is the basic reason for selecting them for the project.

Geographically the project focused on an area within a large urban metropolis* in the United States in which a large concentration of Dominicans can be found. The overall long-range goals of the project were to promote the incorporation of the needs and aspirations of the immigrants from the Dominican Republic into the policies and programs of the agencies serving them, and to maximize these immigrants' opportunities for an equal and just share of community resources. Specific objectives were:

1. To identify people to whom immigrants from the Dominican Republic turn for help and who may be regarded as informal leaders of the (Dominican) community;
2. To involve these leaders in a process of needs assessment;
3. To utilize the needs assessment process as a means of establishing an organization to pursue the goals of the program (see above).

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*Throughout this writing such a metropolis will be referred to as the metropolitan area or the city.

United States Immigration Policy

To say that the United States is a land of immigrants is nothing new. Ever since the discovery of America, one wave of immigrants after another has entered North America. From the pilgrims of yesterday to the 601,442 who immigrated in 1978, they have come for many different and complex reasons. Attempts have been made to find an explanation for the migration of people. Some explain it in simplistic terms: opportunity, freedom, poor conditions in the country of origin, incentives in the receiving country, and so on. It is acknowledged that there is probably no single factor to explain migration; instead, a multiplicity of "push-pull" factors probably cause people to migrate. (Chaney, 1979)

It is also generally acknowledged that the impact of migration is more significant on the receiving country than on the donor country, for throughout history only a very small percentage of the population of any country has migrated in a given year. The large Irish migration during the famine never reached higher than 3 percent of the population of Ireland in any one year. (Fried, 1970) However, because of its numbers and the continuing relationship between those who migrate and those who stay, the Dominican migration may be an exceptional case. This will be discussed later on.

Because of the impact of immigrants on the receiving

country, every country in the world has immigration policies which reflect its values and needs. In the case of the United States, the immigration policies are reflected primarily in the Immigration Act of 1965. This act established three broad classes of immigrants: (1) the immediate relatives of United States citizens; (2) "special" immigrants, which includes natives of independent countries in the Western Hemisphere; and (3) the natives of Eastern Hemisphere countries and their dependents. From 1965 to September 30, 1978, a total of 5,670,389 immigrants were admitted. In addition 66,213,883 non-immigrants were also admitted. These figures exclude citizens of Canada and Mexico who come on a temporary basis as "border crossers."

In 1965, a major shift occurred which has had a profound effect on subsequent immigration. On July 1st of that year a ceiling of 120,000 immigrants per year was set for the Western Hemisphere on a first-come, first-served basis. Because neither a limitation per country nor a preference system for family unification was established, this ceiling has had a significant impact on both the number and composition of migration from Hispano America in general.

Before 1965, all who applied and met the basic requirements were able to obtain immigrant visas and be admitted to the United States as permanent residents. The waiting time, which fluctuated between one and three months before the new law became effective, had increased to about

fifteen months by 1970 and twenty-seven months by 1976. This delay is a result of the arbitrary ceiling of 120,000, which is below the actual number of immigrants who previously came from the Western Hemisphere. As a consequence of the long wait there has been an increase in the number of aliens entering the country illegally, or who violate their non-immigrant status and remain in the country beyond the time allowed by their visas. This is cause for great concern among diverse sectors in the United States.

Review of the Literature

The Hispanic migrants: general characteristics

The "migrants" from Hispano America present many of the same characteristics and problems as do all other migrants. To begin with, migrants are more vulnerable to discrimination, prejudice and, especially, mental illness, as a result of the disruption arising from their migration. According to Fried (1970). "migration, the process of geographical and social transition from one society to another is, at best a drastic experience of cultural change. Even under the best of circumstances migration is a highly disruptive process."

The impact of migration is as devastating upon voluntary as on involuntary migrants. Brody (1970) says that "Voluntary migrants...are caught up in a process of change... Once in the new environment, the change process may continue

indefinitely with the greatest acceleration at the steepest part of an S curve not reached for several years." David (1970), referring to involuntary migration, states that "migration represents an interruption and frustration of natural life expectations, with all related anxieties and potential damage to the self-concept."

In addition, the background of Spanish-speaking migrants makes them very different from earlier immigrants from Europe. Their cultural heritage is very different. They come from primarily rural economies which, along with their Spanish background, contribute to a time orientation which differs from the predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture. They are usually oriented towards the present and in some cases to the past, but are seldom future-oriented in the manner of Anglo-Saxons. (Mead, 1953) This may pose difficulties in adapting to the hurried pace of life in this country, and to a culture which values postponement of present gratification on behalf of a better future. Coming from a tradition in which "being" is more important than "doing," Hispanics may be alienated by the impersonality of big bureaucratic institutions. This may cause them to have a harder time adapting to the American way of life than earlier immigrants from Europe. (Kluckhohn, F., 1961)

Early immigrants from Spain brought a tradition of regional welfare associations and mutual aid societies

which took care of health and welfare problems for their members. While this tradition by and large has been maintained by the new immigrants, their associations,especially among Dominicans, play a mainly internal, mutual support role (Sassen Koob, 1979). This further disadvantages the Hispanic migrant in a society in which, as Sayre and Kaufman (1960) put it,

> No single ruling elite dominates the political and governmental system of New York City...decisions that distribute prizes of politics...issue from a large number of sources. Each source consists of two parts: a "core group" at the center and a constellation of "satellite groups," seeking to influence the...(decisions) of the core group...Each decision center (whether line agencies like the Board of Education...; special authorities like Transit...; or overhead agencies like the Bureau of the Budget), is surrounded by satellite groups specially concerned with its decisions...and the officials respond to the representative of such groups when these are sufficiently provoked to exert pressure.

Dominicans in the United States

Precise figures on the number of Dominicans in the United States in general, and in the study area in particular, are difficult to come by. Analysis of annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice (INS) from 1965 to the present indicates that approximately 9,000 new immigrants from the Dominican Republic have been admitted every year. For the same period, officially admitted non-immigrants have increased by leaps and bounds and makes the Dominican

Republic the second largest source of non-immigrants into the United States. The number of Dominicans which, according to the reports of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), have come in between 1965 and 1978 as compared to all others, is shown below.

Period 1965-1978	Immigrants	Non-immigrants
Dominicans.....	162,042	1,697,220
Others.....	5,670,389	66,213,883

The same INS reports indicate that the majority of Dominicans settle in two northeastern states, New York and New Jersey, with about 68 percent settling in New York City. The 1978 report shows that the 108,291 Dominicans who reported their addresses on January 1, 1978, are scattered throughout the United States in every state but Arkansas, with the highest concentrations in New York (72,994), Puerto Rico (16,524), New Jersey (8,020), Massachusetts (2,211), and Florida (2,189).

Sassen-Koob (1979) believes that because the Roman Catholic Church maintains a very good and close relationship with Dominicans and other Hispanic groups in the city, the figures of the Archdiocese are fairly accurate. These figures place the number of Dominicans in the city, including undocumented persons, at 400,000.

The Dominicans in this particular metropolitan area concentrate in three or four neighborhoods. This project focuses on the one in which the largest concentration is

found. None of the neighborhoods are identified in order to preserve the confidentiality and right to privacy of the participants. The general characteristics of the target area is described in Appendix H.

As to description of these immigrants, contradictory information is presented in the literature available. According to Hendricks (1978) and Gonzalez (1976), the predominant source of immigrants to the United States has been the rural areas and the low-income class. However, in a study analyzing an extensive, random household survey conducted by the government of the Dominican Republic, Ugalde (1978) and his associates at the University of Texas reached a completely different conclusion. It is appropriate to expand here on this survey for, to date, this is the published study with the best empirical data base.

The survey was conducted in the Dominican Republic in 1973 by the Ministry of Health, using a stratified random sample of the entire country, except for some very remote, poorly populated areas constituting less than 2 percent of the country. There were twenty-five thousand households included. In their analysis of the survey Ugalde and his associates found high internal consistency in the stratification categories.

The authors report that, while 53 percent of the population (at the time of the survey) was rural, only 24 percent of the migrants to the United States are from rural

areas. Likewise, while 28 percent of the population belong to the lower urban class, only 17 percent of migrants come from that group. They came to the conclusion that migration from the Dominican Republic to the United States appears to be predominantly urban, middle class. The large majority are literate and about 31 percent have had some higher education. The authors also state that the survey data presents a profile of Dominicans in the United States as literate, well-educated, largely from middle-class backgrounds, in the prime of their productive lives and unlikely to become burdens upon the host country. These conclusions have been supported by the work of Perez (1981), who conducted a household survey of Dominicans residing in upper Manhattan during the summer and fall of 1978.

Reasons for emigrating constitute another area where there is a difference of opinion among the various authors writing on the subject. The Ugalde analysis of the results of the survey conducted in the Dominican republic concludes that the two major reasons for coming to the United States are first, economic and, second, educational opportunities. It does not completely disregard political reasons as a contributing factor in the decision to emigrate, but does not view them as paramount.

Other authors such as Silfa (1980) and Vicioso (1976) ascribe a larger role to the political component. Silfa points out that it was during the first decade of the

Trujillo era that the Dominican exodus to foreign countries started, and it was intensified after Trujillo's "re-election" in 1934. However, the figure mentioned by Silfa, "over 1,000 previous to 1934," is rather insignificant when compared to the number emigrating during the last ten to fifteen years.

Vicioso refers to the increased migration in the 1970's and raises the possibility of political motivation. The 1970's witnessed some major events in the history of the Dominican Republic. First, in 1961 the long-time dictator Rafael Trujillo was assassinated; in 1963 Don Jose (Pepin) Bosch, well known Dominican intellectual who had been democratically elected, was overthrown by the army; and in 1965, the United States Marines, on orders of President Johnson, invaded the Island to end a revolution. Garrison and Weiss (1979) point out that the upward spiral of the Dominican migration to the United States coincided with the assassination of Trujillo in 1961. However, it seems important to observe that during the Trujillo era it was next to impossible to obtain a passport unless the applicant had political connections. The liberalization of migration policies by subsequent Dominican governments may be the reason for the apparent relationship rather than direct political motivation.

Additional information important to note at this point is that from the literature available it appears that the Dominican migration does not represent the entry into

the United States of a monolithic group, either in socio-economic background or in their reasons for leaving the country. This observation is not in conflict with the opinion of Bryce-Laporte (1979) who, in his analysis of Carribean migration, suggests that immigration today is not so much the result of individual motivation as it is a consequence of the imbalance in national and international political-economic relations.

Guiding principles, their rationale and implications

In approaching the development of this project it was assumed that, being a relatively new group in the city, the Dominicans would not as yet have developed their own leaders. By leadership what is meant is the "complex process whereby a relatively small number of individuals in a collectivity behave in such a way that they affect (or effectively prevent) a change in the lives of a large number" (Freeman, Faran, Bloomberg and Sunshine, 1974). Consequently, the project sought to identify persons who currently play roles as informal leaders and who could be considered potential leaders of the community. The approach used to locate the informal leaders was based primarily on the "reputational approach" used by Floyd Hunter (1953) in his study of "regional city."

Two related assumptions were that (1) being newly arrived these immigrants are not likely to be members of pressure groups, and (2) as a consequence they are in no position to influence the decisions of agencies on which they depend for a broad range of services. Three major propositions guided the project:

1. Currently migrants from the Dominican Republic are not able to effectively influence the policies and programs of agencies serving them.
2. The needs of the Dominican in the city may be different from the needs of those population groups represented at the decision making levels.
3. As a result, the needs of the Dominican population in the city may not be properly met.

These propositions are supported by tne work of Vinter and Tropman (1974) who state that:

> Population and economic changes inevitably result in the emergence of new groups asserting their right to participate in crucial community decisions and activities... The prevalence of concerns among all of these groups about health and welfare services need not be documented. The important point to be made... is that their particular interests and needs are not identical, either among these new groups or between new groups and those already established and exercising influences on

> local affairs. The system...ensures that familiar definitions of needs and arrangements to meet them receive greatest emphasis. Needs newly emerging out of... changing conditions...are more difficult to discern, and groups newly contending for different services are less likely to be heard.

It was also assumed that for as long as they are unable to articulate their needs in such a way as to influence the policies and programs of agencies serving the communities where they live, Dominicans will remain in a disadvantaged position which will prevent their obtaining an equal and just share of community resources; hence the goals and objectives of the program. (See page 2)

In order to identify informal leaders or persons strategically placed, the author assumed that to the extent that a person is engaged, formally or informally, in the provision of services to the Dominican community, s/he could be considered as a key informant. It was further assumed that such persons, if Dominicans, would have the potential for becoming leaders in the sense Dahl had in mind. These assumptions were suggested by the work of Robert A. Dahl (1961) in his study of the processes of decision-making in New Haven, Connecticut. One of his hypotheses was that leaders (persons with relatively great direct influence) will have a cadre of subleaders to help them.

He found that in the issues under study the subleaders had a greater degree of influence than ordinary citizens, and exhibited economic, social, and educational characteristics which placed them above the average citizen. He also observed what he called "specialization of interest," by which he means that individuals who are influential in one sector of public activity tend not to be influential in another sector. The issue-area in which a subleader's influence is specialized seems to be a function of durable interests or concerns. He also observed that such interests were usually related to professional or occupational aspirations. These findings are consistent with Vinter and Tropman's (1974) observations mentioned earlier and with the work of Hunter (1953) who found that businessmen tend to be the leaders in their communities.

There is evidence from the community development and community organization fields which supports the decision to aim at a group of individuals who have the potential for becoming the leaders in their community. From the work of Alinsky (1969), of the organizers of the War on Poverty, and the extensive literature on community development, it is obvious that, at any given time, only a small core group is actively involved on an ongoing, sustained basis. Perlman and Gurin (1972) addressed this issue as well, saying that it is unrealistic to expect that all eligible or potential members will take part fully and consistently in the work of an organization. This is not an achievable

objective in any socio-economic group, but is doubly difficult to obtain among people who are burdened by the grinding, daily demands of work, money worries, caring for children and running households.

Organizations that are larger than a few people who meet informally usually consist of a core or leadership group, and a larger fringe of people who may be activated on special occasions, such as a public meeting or a demonstration. Rein and Morris (1962), in their discussion of strategies for community change, assert that there is a close connection between goals and structures of organizations and that when the goal is "change," the corporate structure is the most appropriate. They describe the corporate organization as consisting of a small, relatively homogenous cadre which is in basic agreement on the goals and means of the organization.

Horowitz (1961) also supports this view. In his opinion, the greater the size of the group, the more likely it is that some member will be dissatisfied with the group's goal. Peattie (1969), reviewing her experience as an advocate planner, has come to the same conclusion--namely, that when we talk about "communities" we are really talking about "community organizations," and that these organizations, whether in small homogenous communities or in a large heterogenous urban area, are composed of a relatively small number of people. Some authors (e.g. Sayre and Kaufman 1974)

further express the view that the efforts of many community action programs during the "War on Poverty" were wasted because of the emphasis on involving a large number of people.

The decision to organize migrants from one single country as opposed to those from Hispano America in general was made based on the assumption that focusing on one nationality would maximize the chances of success. This assumption is supported by the experience of community organizers who have found that those organizing activities which have been most successful have been centered around specific common interests, especially those related to class and/or ethnic identity (Perlman and Gurin, 1972).

In the conceptualization of this project it was also assumed that if the individuals identified as informal leaders in the Dominican community were approached with the expectation that (1) they are concerned about the unmet needs of their fellow Dominicans, and (2) they want to do something about it, they would tend to behave to meet these expectations. This assumption is supported by the work of many authors and organizers. Lippit (1958) and his associates conducted extensive research regarding the work of many different types of change agents. They found that one of the important initial forces toward change on the part of the client system is the expectations of the change agent. Likewise, Biddle and Biddle (1965), reporting on their

community development experience, attach great importance to the influence of the worker's attitudes and expectations on the behavior of the people who are clients or potential clients. The author's work with delinquent youth in the Hell's Kitchen area of Manhattan and with indigenous, grass-roots leaders in the Lower East Side also supports this assumption.

The usefulness of a needs assessment process as an organizing and educational tool has been amply demonstrated. Perlman and Gurin (1972) recognize this important function of the needs assessment process and have this to say:

> a practitioner is frequently faced, in the early stages of the development of a project, with an inadequate level of existing interest in the issue or need that he is mandated to address...The purpose of the initial organizing efforts in such a situation is basically educational--to expose potential participants in a way that may arouse interest and concern. Study committees frequently serve this type of educational purpose rather than being directed primarily to the discovery of new information.

Zander (1961) expresses this same thinking in the form of a proposition: "People will be more likely to act in terms of information they gather themselves than in terms of information gathered by others and delivered to them."

A related assumption guiding this project was that by getting involved in the program the participants would refine or develop planning and interventive skills which

they would want to put to use. This assumption is supported by, among others, the work of Rawls (1971). In his "Theory of Justice" Rawls enumerates a number of principles. One of them, the "Aristotelian principle," runs as follows: "Other things equal, human beings enjoy the exercise of their realized capacities (their innate or trained abilities), and this enjoyment increases the more the capacity is realized or the greater its complexity." The findings of the Community Health Institute (CHI) in New York City also support this assumption. Between 1969 and 1974 CHI conducted training programs with consumer groups which were active in the health field trying to influence policies and programs of hospitals. An evaluation of the impact of this program conducted by an independent consultant firm found that there was a 70 percent increase in consumer input and an approximately equal increase in administrative response after the training program. The evaluators concluded that the training program effectively led to a dramatic increase in consumer input which in turn led to an increased administrative response (Intelicor, Inc. 1973).

In order to determine the size of the core group for the organization sought as the final objective of the project, the work of Thomas and Fink (1963) was relied on. In their extensive review of the literature on the effect of group size, these authors conclude that group size has a significant impact on group performance as well as on the

behavior of indivual members. For example, quality of group performance and group productivity appear to be positively correlated to group size. However, as the size of the group increases, there is a wider gap in the level of participation between the most active person in the group and the rest of the members. At the same time, smaller groups seem to inhibit members from expressing disagreement. The author concluded that for the purpose of this project, the core group should have no less than five and no more than fifteen members.

It should be noted that the use of Hunter's approach may have introduced a bias in favor of selection of middle-class participants. That this was not unintentional is demonstrated by the selection of a corporate model of organization. Furthermore, the author purposely avoided a methodology which would call for participation by a large number of low-income residents. This was done in order to avoid the dilemma posed by the imperative to involve significant numbers of representative, lower-class persons while the fact is that the lower the socioeconomic status, the less likely an individual is to participate in community groups. And the fact that even when the organizer succeeds, those who participate are likely to be the upwardly mobile who are a minority among the poor. (Brager and Specht, 1967)
It is also to be noticed that Hunter's study was aimed at

identifying formal leaders unlike the present study which is aimed at potential leaders. Consequently, the criticisms raised regarding his study may not be applicable.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Scope and Location of the Project

This project focused on a segment of a large metropolitan area in which large numbers of Dominicans live.

It was expected that up to fifty persons would be identified as key informants, informal leaders and/or resource persons, and that at least twenty of them would be interviewed personally. As the work proceeded, forty-eight key informants were identified and thirty-three interviewed. From this pool, twelve were invited to participate in a needs assessment process and to form a group to work on behalf of the Dominican community.

Sample Selection and Definitions

The sample for this project was drawn from three categories of persons who for the purpose of the project were defined as follows:

Key informants

Persons in a position to be knowledgeable about the

Dominican community in the metropolitan area in general, and about Dominicans living in the specific segment selected for the study in particular. These included:

1. The research director for the household survey referred to on page 11 (Perez, 1981).
2. At least one minister from a local church actively involved with the Dominican community.
3. A member of the staff of the Division of Immigration, Roman Catholic Archdiocese.
4. At least one staff member from the local Community Mental Health Center.
5. Persons identified by any of the above who do not meet the criteria for either informal leader or resource person.

Informal leaders

Dominicans who do not hold official elected positions, and who are identified by at least two key informants, or by a combination of a key informant and a respondent to the household survey conducted in 1978-79 under the sponsorship of a major church and the Community Mental Health Center.

Resource Persons

Dominicans who are involved in the provision of direct services to the community and who do not meet the criteria specified for informal leaders. The term "direct service" is defined in the Glossary of Terms, p.v.

Sampling Strategy

Informal leaders and resource persons who agreed with the basic assumption and goals of the project* were invited to participate in a structured problem identification and priority setting process.

The rationale for including only persons in agreement with the project's goals was based on studies by Schachter (1968) indicating that the higher the degree of a person's initial interest in a given group, the more likely s/he is to stay in the group and contribute to its success.

Any person about whom remarks were made indicating violation of group (Dominican community) norms was discouraged by the researcher from participating in the needs assessment process since this was the vehicle to form the action group to work on behalf of the Dominican community.

The decision to exclude this group was based on

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*This constituted a change from the original design as discussed under limitations of the study.

research findings indicating that a key characteristic of leadership is adherence to group norms, which results in a high degree of social standing (Whyte 1943).

Traditionally, religious institutions have been trusted by newcomers and have worked closely with them. This is true in the case of Hispanic immigrants and is the main reason for including church persons as a category of key informants. This is also the reason for including as key informants the Immigration Services of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, said to have some of the most reliable figures about undocumented Hispanic aliens and to be very knowledgeable about their problems.

The project consisted of four distinct phases:

Preparatory Phase

The purpose of this phase was to allow the researcher to become familiar with the Dominican people and their culture before formally entering the community. It was thought that this knowledge would facilitate the establishment of a working relationship with the subjects of the study. This phase was planned to consist of:

1. Informal contacts with several Dominicans to whom this researcher had access.
2. Reading materials and books written by

Dominicans on the history, culture, economic and political developments of their country.

3. Visits to the target area. Walks through the streets, observing the environment and interactions among people.
4. A visit to the Dominican Republic to obtain a first-hand view of the people in their place of origin, and to visit the town in which the author's family had settled before going to Cuba in the 1800's. This visit was also viewed as an important step in facilitating the development of a working relationship with the Dominican community in the United States.
5. Reviewing in detail the report on the Dominican Republic prepared by the United States Department of State.

All but the last were completed before starting the interviews with informal leaders and resource persons.

Beginning Phase

This phase of the project consisted of two distinct sub-phases, designated as A and B.

Sub-phase A

During this stage key informants were identified,

contacted and interviewed. The first step was contacting and meeting with a Dominican who in 1978 conducted an extensive household survey among the Dominican population in the target area (Perez 1981). He had lived in the area for several years and had intimate knowledge of its evolution and the internal structure of the Dominican community in the city. He provided an initial list of twelve Dominicans who are active in some manner in the community. With the information he provided a brief dossier was prepared on each of these Dominicans.

The study design called for these twelve persons to be interviewed initially as key informants. As the interviews progressed, some of these persons emerged as informal leaders and/or resource persons and were moved to that category.

In addition to this initial group, the design called for specific categories of persons to be interviewed as key informants as discussed under the sample selection (see pages 23-24, above).

Key informants were expected to participate in the project by providing:

- Names of other key informants.
- Names and affiliations of informal leaders and

resource persons.

- Initial feedback on the validity of the project's assumptions.
- Background information for the needs assessment regarding community structure, attitudes, internal politics, alliances and conflicts.
- Information about previous efforts at organizing the community.

For the first contact with a key informant the following protocol was designed and followed:

1. Telephone call. The author first identified herself as a faculty member at a Graduate School of Social Services and a Doctoral candidate at Hunter College School of Social Work, then gave a brief description of the focus and nature of the doctoral project as well as the name of the person who had suggested the key informant's name. Finally, the author described the role the informant was being asked to play, and requested a personal interview. If the key informant was a Hispanic, the conversation was conducted in Spanish, unless the person asked to change to English or showed signs of discomfort.

2. Face-to-face interview. The interview was arranged to take place at the office of the key informant or any other location convenient to the informant. It was conducted in Spanish, if that was the native tongue of the person interviewed. An interview guide was followed. (Appendix A)

During the interview, note taking was kept to a minimum and covered such essential information as name, address, telephone number, and affiliation of persons named by the interviewee. Immediately after the meeting a detailed process recording of the interview was dictated. This information was summarized in a written report which was organized to correspond to categories and order of the interview guide. A face sheet on the above was also prepared to facilitate access to regularly needed information without having to refer to the written report or the tape. (Appendix B)

Sub-phase B

The purpose of this phase was to interview the informal leaders and resource persons, establish a

relationship with them and obtain their cooperation. It was expected that no more than ten individuals would need to be interviewed since it was assumed that some of the key informants would also be informal leaders or resource persons. It was thought possible to reach the desired number of participants without re-interviewing those initially contacted. The same interview guide used for the key informants was used. In addition, persons in this category were asked if they would be interested in attending some meetings to discuss the needs of the community. Originally, the methodology called for the Cohesiveness Questionnaire to be used at this interview. This was changed as discussed under limitations of the study.

The introductory protocol used for key informants was also utilized in this contact, with some modifications. One change was the decision to share with interviewees the findings of previous phases and to provide them with more details of the project. They were also asked to review the list of informal leaders and resource persons which had so far been prepared, and were asked for their additional suggestions and reactions.

There were several reasons for this request. It allowed the author to check the selection, minimizing the

chances of missing some important person while at the same time providing the interviewee with an opportunity to participate in the planning process. It provided a sense as to who else might participate, which, from previous community work, the author knew to be an important stimulant for getting people to attend a meeting (Dumois 1973). Finally, it provided the opportunity to obtain feedback on each potential participant and to eliminate those who could have a negative impact. Before the conclusion of the interview, each person was asked about preference regarding meeting place and time. A three-page summary of the project (Appendix C) was left with them and they were encouraged to call the author with any questions or comments. The meeting ended with a promise to be back in touch within a specified period of time to let them know of the progress of the project.

In these initial interviews the aim was to achieve a balance between conveying a sense of self-confidence and expertise, and showing respect for their own expertise and contribution. For this reason, flexibility was built into the design so that their suggestions as to program content, participants and location could be incorporated.

Intermediate Phase

This phase consisted of three meetings instead of four as originally planned. The first meeting lasted two and a half hours and provided each participant the opportunity to meet the others and renew old acquaintances, to begin to relate to each other as a group of individuals with a common purpose, and to question the author on any area of concern. This first meeting was rather informal and focused on discussing the project in detail, identifying areas in which the interests of the community members and of the researcher coincided, and planning subsequent meetings.

Each of the other meetings in this phase lasted from two to two and a half hours. The second meeting had been planned to deal with problem identification and priority setting using the Nominal Group Process. As discussed in Chapter VI (see pages 121-123), this was not advisable and the second meeting was instead a continuation of the first one. Originally, the third and fourth meetings were planned to include, in addition to the participants attending the first meetings, experts in the fields identified as problem areas and leaders of other minority groups which had already gone through an organizing process.

This was not done, as discussed under limitations of the study. At the end of the first and second meetings, the participants filled out a Cohesiveness Questionnaire developed based on the work of Schachter (1968) and used to evaluate development of group cohesiveness.

Final Phase

This phase consisted of seven meetings devoted to reordering the group's priorities in light of previous meetings, and formulating a tentative program and by-laws. The Cohesiveness Questionnaire was applied again at the end of the fifth and tenth meetings.

CHAPTER III

EVALUATION

The evaluation of this program deals with its effects rather than its effectiveness. The approach taken was based on both a systems and a goal model of evaluation. The system concern was with the project design and implementation process. In order to evaluate the process (program effort), every program activity undertaken at each stage was described in a log kept by the author, in the hope that this information would assist her in reaching a conclusion about the project design and implementation.

In this log an entry was made for all non-project related occurrences which related to the project, whether planned by the author or not. Such events included, for example, a Hispanic health conference, the collapse of a building which left twenty-five Dominican families homeless and the refusal by the major voluntary hospital in the area to receive the injured, and so forth. These, it was assumed, could become significant influences on the ultimate

outcome of the project. It was expected that the analysis would take them into account. The following information was included about every event:

- Date, time and place.
- Nature of the event.
- Whether the event was planned by the author or not.
- If not, how it related to the project.
- Whether the author was directly involved in the event, and in what capacity.
- Who was involved; roles played by each participant to the extent possible to ascertain them.
- Issues raised and action taken, if any.

The concern here was with qualitative information which described the process, the actors, and the dynamics of the situation, rather than with quantitative data. This information was used to analyze the project (see Chapter IV).

Objectives formulated for each phase of the program were examined to determine whether they were reached or not.

General Objectives

a) To identify key people to whom migrants from the Dominican Republic turn for help and who constitute the informal leaders of the Dominican community;

b) To obtain descriptive information about the Dominican community.

Specific Objectives	Input	Target	Output
.Identify informal leaders. .Identify resource persons. .Check validity of project assumptions. .Obtain description of the community.	.Interviews with key informants.	Key Informants: .Dominican researcher conducting household survey. .One minister each from Roman Catholic, Episcopal and Pentacostal churches in the area. .One Spanish-speaking outreach worker from Community Mental Health Center. .Persons identified by those above.	.Summary of interviews with key informants. A form with predetermined categories developed for this purpose was used in order to facilitate analysis of data obtained. This form was also used as an interview guide. (App. A.) .Taped process recording of each interview. .Face sheet for each person interviewed. .Feedback on preliminary assumptions. .Descriptive information about the Dominican community including structure, attitudes toward human services, internal politics, alliances and conflicts. .Information about previous efforts at organizing the community and results.

Changes from Original Plan: No Pentecostal minister was found to have significant influence among Dominicans and consequently none was interviewed.

Fig. 1. PHASE I - BEGINNING. PART A.

Specific Objectives	Input	Target	Output
. Obtain cooperation from informal leaders and resource persons.	.Telephone calls. .Personal interviews. .Written summary of proposal. .Cohesiveness Questionnaire.	.Each individual whose name appears in two or more key informants' lists. .Individuals mentioned in answers to questions #249 and #280. of household survey conducted by Perez in 1978.	.Records of interviews as per first three items under Output in Part A, Phase I, above. .Further feedback on assumptions and description of the Dominican community. .List of persons who agree to participate in needs assessment. .Expression of preference from each person regarding dates, time and location of meetings. .First meeting was scheduled and took place June 6, 1981.

Changes from Original Plan: Cohesiveness Questionnaire was postponed as discussed under limitations of the study.

Fig. 2. PHASE I - BEGINNING. PART B.

General Objectives

a) Implementation of needs assessment process involving informal leaders and resource persons;
b) Organization of participants into an action group.

Specific Objectives	Input	Target	Output
.Initiate development of a group.	.Preliminary meeting to become acquainted, establish commonality, discuss project, and plan future meetings. .Social Hour.	.As in previous phase.	.Qualitative description of meetings, and attendance list and chart. .Summary of each meeting. .Group assessment using: (1) Cohesiveness Questionnaire; (2) Analysis of Content; (3) Bales interaction process analysis. (Not implemented as discussed under limitations of the study.) .Schedule of future meetings.
.Identify needs of migrants from the Dominican Republic.	.Structured meeting using the Nominal Group Process.	.As above.	.List of problems identified and ranked by participants (see Table 6).
.Identify barriers to utilization of services by these migrants.		.As above.	
.Assess present level of community involvement and awareness of each participant.	.Apply questionnaire developed for this purpose.	.As above.	.Questionnaire filled out as planned (see Table 4).

Fig. 3. PHASE II - INTERMEDIATE

Specific Objectives	Input	Target	Output
.Analyze needs and problems identified.	.Meeting with experts.	.Experts in the substantive areas of need identified; participants at previous meetings.	.Structural-functional analysis of the problems by experts (not done).
.Explore alternatives to deal with above.	.Meeting with formal leaders of the Spanish and Black community.	.Elected Spanish and Black officials and professional leaders of the Spanish and Black community.	.Development of alternatives and suggestions for action by formal leaders.
.Further group development.	.Reminders, drafts of documents, meetings.	.Informal leaders who participated at previous meetings.	.Attendance list for each meeting. .Assessment of group cohesion using: (1) Cohesiveness Questionnaire; (2) Analysis of content.

Changes from Original Plan:
.Bales interaction process analysis was not implemented as it would have disrupted the meetings due to the presence of observer.
.Structural-functional analysis of problems by experts was eliminated from this phase since it would have interrupted the group development process.
.The development of alternatives by formal leaders of the minority community was postponed for the same reasons cited above.

Fig. 3 - Continued

General Objective

Establishment of permanent organization to work on behalf of the Dominican community.

Specific Objective	Input	Target	Output
.Analysis and evaluation of previous meetings.	.Evaluation session; fill out questionnaire (evaluation form).	.Dominicans who had participated in previous meetings.	.Evaluation forms filled out by participants. .Attendance lists. .Minutes of meetings indicating action taken.
.Organization of Steering Committee.	.Plan follow-up and dissemination of information to public and voluntary agencies.	.As above.	.Identification of agencies to which information obtained so far should be presented. .Decision on strategy for follow-up. .Election of temporary officers. .Identification of specific tasks to be performed and persons assigned to carry them out. .Temporary composition of the committee decided.
.Development of action plan.	.Follow-up	.As above, plus anyone else they had invited.	.Next meeting scheduled and agenda items identified. .By-laws approved. .Action plan created.

Changes from Original Plan: Election of temporary officers was not needed because the group was not structured along traditional lines. The innovative management organization is discussed in the Epilogue.

Fig. 4. PHASE III - FINAL PHASE

TABLE 1

ATTENDANCE AT SCHEDULED PROJECT MEETINGS
FROM JUNE 6, 1981 TO JANUARY 30, 1982

	Meeting #										Total Meetings Attended
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Date	6/6	6/27	7/18	9/12	10/3	11/7	12/5	12/26	1/9	1/30	
Total Attendance	7	9	10	5	7	7	6	10	10	6	
Code: A	p*	a**	p	a	a	a	a	Dropped - - -			lack of attendance
B	p	p	p	p	p	e***	-	p	p	p	8 meetings of 10
C	NI†	a	NI	Dropped - - - - - - - - - -							controversial
D	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	10 meetings of 10
E	NI	p	p	-	p	p	p	p	p	-	7 meetings of 9
F	NI	NI	p	a	a	a	a	p	p	p	4 meetings of 8
G	NI	p	a	p	a	p	p	p	p	p	7 meetings of 9
H	p	p	p	e	p	p	p	p	p	p	9 meetings of 10
I	p	p	-	e	p	p	-	p	p	e	6 meetings of 10
J	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	e	9 meetings of 10
K	e	e	a	NI	NI	Dropped - - - - - - - - - -					reinvited/joined after 1/30/82
L	NI	p	p	p	e	e	p	p	e	p	6 meetings of 9
M	a	a	a	NI	NI	Dropped - - - - - - - - - -					lack of attendance
N	p	a	p	a	p	p	a	p	p	a	6 meetings of 10

TABLE 1 - Continued

	Meeting #										Total Meetings Attended
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Date	6/6	6/27	7/18	9/12	10/3	11/7	12/5	12/26	1/9	1/30	
Total Attendance	7	9	10	5	7	7	6	10	10	6	
Code: O	e	p	p	e	e	a	e	e	p	e	3 meetings of 10
P	a	a	a	NI	NI	Dropped - -		- - -	- - -	- - -	lack of attendance
Q	a	a	a	NI	NI	Dropped - -		- - -	- - -	- - -	lack of attendance

*p = Present.

**a = Absent without explanation.

***e = Absent with explanation--excused.

†NI = Not invited.

TABLE 2

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES AND ATTENDANCE
AT SELECTED PROJECT MEETINGS

	Meeting #:									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total attendance	7	9	10	5	7	7	6	10	10	6
Personal Information Form	√	√								
Cohesiveness Questionnaire	√	√			√					√
Nominal Group Process			√							
Adoption of draft by-laws								√		

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Age in 1981	57	36	35	33	33	31	29	29	29	28	25
Education: Dom. Rep.	—	Ph.D.	5th Gr.	M.D.	—	7th Gr.	—	—	H.S.	3rd Gr.	H.S.
U.S.	M.D.	—	H.S.	M.D.	M.S.	Ph.D.	A.A.S.	M.B.A.	BA-MA	B.A.	—
Years in U.S.	18	4	18	11	25	15	18	11	11	16	25
Immigration Status: Citizen	√	—	√	√	√	√	√	—	√	—	—
Immigrant	—	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	—	√	—
Memberships: Dom. Assoc.	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	0	-
U.S. Assoc.	3	0	2	3	-	1	2	3	-	3	-

TABLE 4

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATORY EXPERIENCE
IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Type of Association	In United States		In Dominican Republic
	American Association	Dominican Association	
Professional	4	0	1
Political	0	0	5
Civic	0	6	3
Religious	0	0	0
Other	4	0	0
Total	7	9	5

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF COHESIVENESS QUESTIONNAIRE

		Meeting #			
		1	2	5	10
Number of questionnaires answered		6	6	6	7
Members present		6	6	6	8
1. Do you want to remain a member of the group?	Yes:	6	6	6	-
	No:	-	-	-	-
2. How often do you think the group should meet?	Every two weeks:	1	2	1	1
	Every three weeks:	5	2	1	3
	Every four weeks	0	1	4	3
3. If enough members decide not to stay so it seems this group might discontinue, would you like the chance to persuade others to stay?	Yes:	6	4	6	7
	No:	-	NA	-	-
4. Would you invite other Dominican leaders to join the group?	Yes:	-	-	-	-
	No:	-	NA	-	-
5. In the following scale, circle the statement which best reflects your attitude toward this group:	Not interested at all-Value 1	-	-	-	-
	Only mildly interested-Value 2	-	2	-	-
	Moderately interested-Value 3	-	3	3	2
	Extremely interested -Value 4	6	1	3	5

The results shown in Figure 5 summarize the degree of cohesiveness measured between the first meeting and the tenth meeting. As can be seen, the cohesiveness was at a mean value of 4, almost the highest degree of cohesiveness possible in the scale administered. There is a sharp decrease in cohesiveness to less than 3 by the time of the second meeting and only quite gradually does this alter. The movement upward almost returning to its highest value is not accomplished until the final meeting, the tenth, at which the questionnaire was administered for the last time.

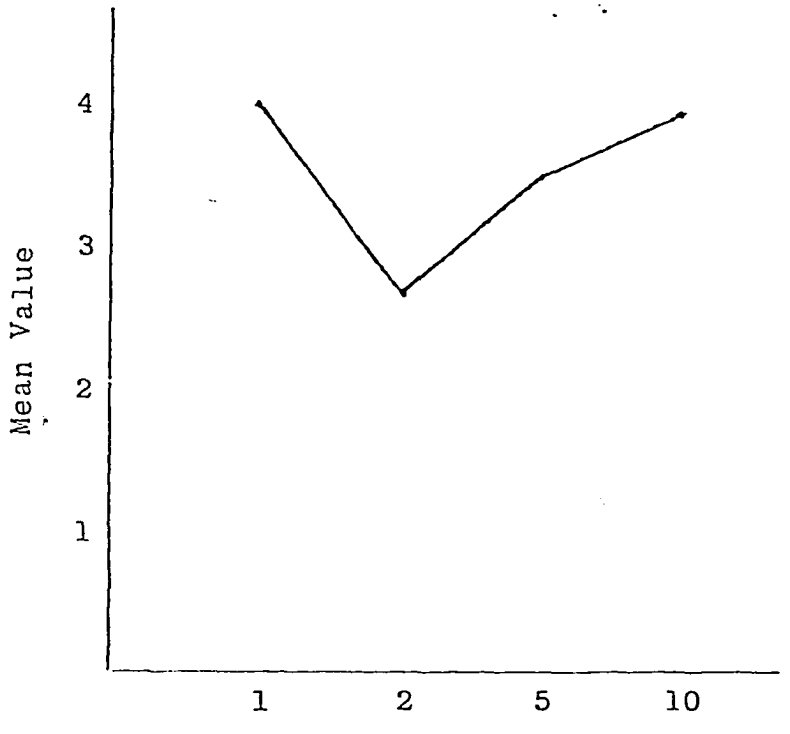

Fig. 5. COHESIVENESS

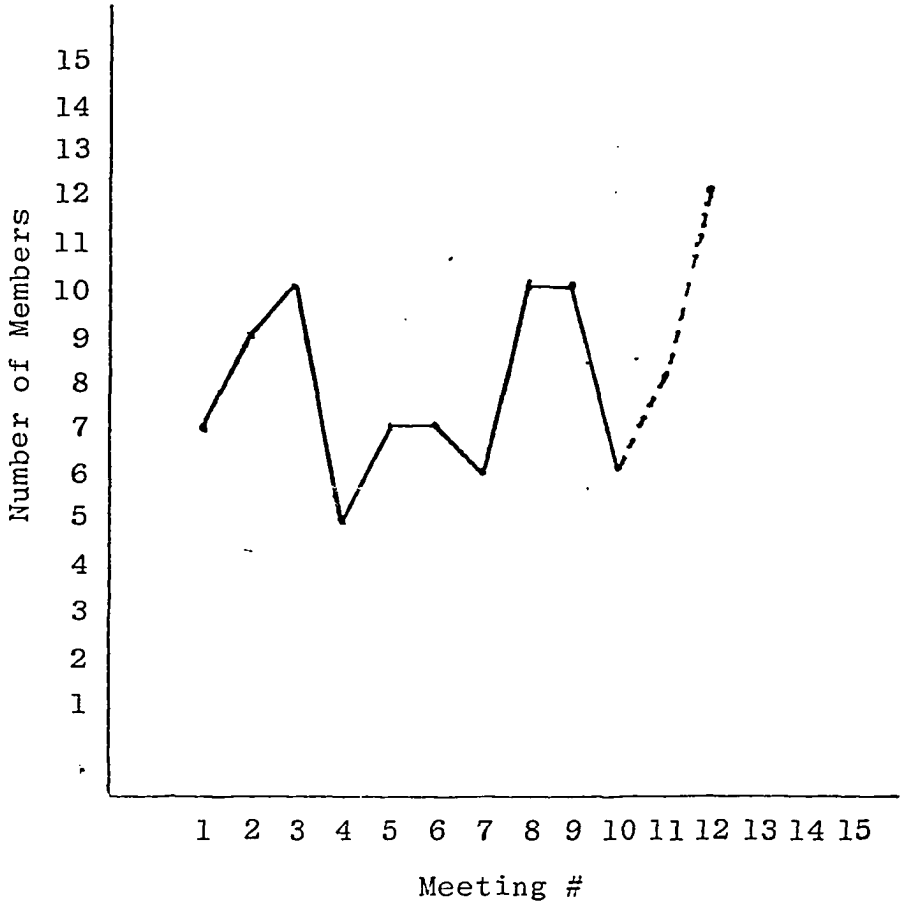

Fig. 6. ATTENDANCE FROM JUNE 1981 TO MAY 1982

TABLE 6A

RESULTS OF NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS: INSTITUTIONAL/ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS* IDENTIFIED AND RANKED BY PARTICIPANTS AT MEETING HELD ON JULY 18, 1981

	Number of points obtained	Rank
Lack of political representation which directly affects the social services provided to Dominicans	26	1
Political mechanisms which do not represent the Dominican community	18	2
Housing problems; inadequate housing	13	3
Lack of community organizing activities by existing Dominican groups	12	4
Undocumented aliens and the lack of services for them	10	6
Lack of organization to lobby on behalf of the Dominican community	9	5
Lack of adequate Hispanic representatatives on local Community Board	7	7
Institutional apathy due to Dominican nonparticipation in the electoral process	5	8
Not enough protection offered by local police precinct; slow response time	1	9
Inadequate programs offered to Dominican youth by the Youth Board	1	9

*A number of problems were identified but not included because they obtained no points.

TABLE 6B

RESULTS OF NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS: INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS* IDENTIFIED AND RANKED BY PARTICIPANTS AT MEETING HELD ON JULY 18, 1981

	Number of points obtained	Rank
"Rugged individualism" of the Dominicans	3	1
Lack of interest in organizing activities by the Dominicans	1	2
Resistance to integration on the part of the Dominicans	1	2

*A number of problems were identified but not included because they obtained no points.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZING PROCESS

Preparatory and Beginning Phases

Both the preparatory and the beginning phases of the project were guided by a practice principle derived primarily from the work of Zald (1974). Zald states, "The social worker shall act to minimize social distance between self and community." This basic principle guided every step taken in order to enter the community.

In addition, Zald's formulation of the worker representing the "ego ideal" of the target community was incorporated in the approach used as a second practice principle. In order to operationalize this principle, a thorough knowledge and understanding of Dominican history and culture was considered essential. To this end, writings by Dominican historians, politicians and scholars were carefully reviewed. Among them, the work of Don José Bosch (1970) provided invaluable insights into the philosophy of the various political groups in the Dominican Republic

and, hence, of Dominicans in the target area. A respected intellectual, Mr. Bosch was the elected president of the Dominican Republic after the overthrow of Trujillo, the long-time dictator. His work was particularly important in that it pointed out critical areas of disagreement among historians in relation to Dominican economic evolution. The works of Silfa (1980) and Vicioso (1976) were helpful in that they showed the relationship between political events on the Island and the increase in migration to this country. This helped to illuminate the gamut of political and economic philosophies likely to be found among the Dominicans living in the United States.

The understanding gained from the literature proved invaluable in several instances. During the initial interviews with key informants and potential participants, they often referred to political events of significance on the Island. The ability of the author to respond to their comments in a manner that showed knowledge of their country's internal affairs and, when appropriate, identification with its political and economic struggle, demonstrated a genuine interest on her part. It also allowed the opportunity to point out similarities between Cuba and the Dominican Republic which were thought of as helping to

minimize possible barriers between the organizer and the target/client group arising from a difference in national origin.

In this respect, Silfa's work also helped by contributing to the understanding of the political relations between the two countries. For example, the fact that the top military leader of the Cuban war of independence against Spain was a Dominican was referred to in a summary of the project which was given to the informal leaders and resource persons after the first interview with them.

A visit to the Dominican Republic in the winter of 1980 proved to be extremely worthwhile. It was viewed by the Dominicans as an important expression of interest, and it allowed them to feel comfortable when referring to areas or problems in the Dominican Republic because, by having been there, the author could be expected to understand the issues. The trip to the Island also provided an intimate knowledge of the people in their home environment which no amount of reading could ever provide. It is one thing to read about the "large" families common among Dominicans, but the impact is better felt when one talks to a fellow passenger in a crowded taxi and he mentions casually that he has fourteen brothers and sisters

in the metropolitan area and seven still in the Dominican Republic. The trip also furthered the author's understanding about the very close relationship between the Dominicans on the Island and those in the metropolis.

It was also on the trip to the Dominican Republic that the author began to understand better the impact that political affairs in the Dominican Republic have on the community life of Dominicans in the city. It became evident that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the cooperation of Dominicans in the target area if that meant bringing together members of opposing Dominican political ideologies. This difficulty became especially apparent in relation to the older leaders, those who had actively participated in the political events of the last twenty to thirty years. The fact that the author was able to show sensitivity towards this issue allowed for open discussion of it during the initial interviews. As a consequence, this dimension was incorporated into the selection of the sample and is a point of difference with the original design which is discussed under limitations of the study.

The author's curriculum vitae and an article about her work on the lower Eastside were distributed to encourage

confidence in the organizer, to show the success achieved by a new immigrant in this country, and to act as a role model, the "ego ideal" spoken of by Zald. This was seen as another method of operationalizing this practice principle. A reprint of testimony at a public hearing on health care was distributed because most of the leaders involved had also actively participated in the organization of a Hispanic Health Conference. The content of the testimony showed the similarities between the author's concerns and these leaders' perception of problems in the health field. This related to the practice principle concerned with minimizing social distance.

It is strongly felt that the careful efforts at "minimizing social distance" had a very positive impact and that this is a key variable which needs to be considered in analyzing the outcome of the project. While it is obvious that the author's background made for rather unique circumstances, the important issue here is to call attention to this practice principle and to urge its incorporation into every community organizing effort, especially when working with clients whose backgrounds, cultural heritage, and so forth, are very different from those of the worker. In any given situation, the alert organizer will find

commonalities which can be highlighted once they are identified.

The curriculum vitae was also distributed for another reason: to delineate from the beginning a sense of the accountability of the organizer to the future Board of Directors. It was reasoned that one aspect of the relationship was that of employer-employee, and the fact that the organizer was unpaid should not deprive future members from knowing the professional background of the person who was to act as their staff during the organizing phase and until they obtained their own staff.* Offering them the curriculum vitae was a way of showing deference to their status and recognition of their right to know about the researcher who was asking them questions about their community and themselves.

This was also one of the basic reasons for preparing a summary of the project to be given to those individuals who, during the interview, showed an interest and met the other criteria for participation in the needs assessment process. This summary stressed the close relations between Cuba and the Dominican Republic which were

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*As the work proceeded and the Board of Directors was organized, the organizer became a Board member at the insistence of the participants.

mentioned above. It also included a definition of the problem as perceived by the author, and the goals of the project. The summary helped to reinforce what is considered a key element of success in any organizing effort: namely, a candid and honest expression on the part of the organizers as to why they are there, and what it is they want to obtain, both as individuals and as professionals working with a citizens' group.

Another element to which the author attributes previous success as an organizer is the ability to convey a sense of confidence in one's own competency, tempered by a realistic recognition of the many forces not under the control of either the worker or the group which will impact on the outcome of any change effort. It is important to see the connection between conveying a sense of self-confidence and expertise, and acting to minimize the distance between worker and "client." Lippitt (1958) puts it very well when he says that the worker has to show that s/he is similar enough to understand the client and different enough to make a difference.

In the beginning phase, every step taken by the author was carefully thought out both to assure a clear understanding of the purpose of the intervention, and to

define what would be expected of the individuals contacted. It was very important to stress that the main objectives of the initial interview were to test the assumptions guiding the project and to obtain information about the Dominican community in the study area and its informal leaders. At the time of that first interview, it was not known whether the person being interviewed was also an informal leader. Therefore, extreme care had to be exercised to neither invite him/her prematurely, nor to offend the person by failing to issue an invitation.

The common nature of social work became extremely clear during this phase. Interviewing, and the use of the relationship, too often regarded as procedures to be used primarily in the assessment and intervention processes within the casework method, constituted key elements in the implementation of the project. The interviews with key informants and informal leaders were used not only to gather information, but also help in assessing each individual's potential as a participant in the highly structured needs assessment and action group, and in preparing the ground to facilitate his/her acceptance of the invitation to participate.

Another purpose of the interview was to initiate

the development of a one-to-one relationship, considered essential to the outcome of the project. In previous work with diverse groups under very different circumstances, the author had found that establishment of a trusting relationship between worker and individual group members (or future members) was a prerequisite to sustained participation. In this project the initial involvement of the participants was influenced by their liking and trusting the organizer as much as by their commitment to the project itself. Also, at the beginning of a change effort, clients tend to see both the process and the project as "owned" by the worker. This view is expressed in their use of such phrases as "your project" and "what would you like us to do?"

As the identification of potential leaders proceeded, the following proposition was explored: "In order for an individual to participate in a group, the purpose of the group must be consistent with the individual's personal and/or professional goals." Each of the persons identified as influential and invited to participate had a history of professional concerns consistent with the goals of the project. They were also involved in the provision of services in the community. Their personal

characteristics partially reflected Dahl's (1961) findings in New Haven. They exhibited a higher level of economic and educational achievement than the average Dominican, which is consistent with the findings of Perez (1981). At the social level, however, there was a departure from Dahl's findings, for those invited to participate varied among themselves in terms of position within the social structure of the Dominican community.

It had also been assumed that the needs of the Dominican community, although they may resemble and in some respects be identical to the needs of other Hispanic and immigrant groups, would present unique characteristics, and that these characteristics would have to be identified and taken into consideration in designing programs to serve this group. During the first phase of the project, it became abundantly clear that this was in fact the case.

Two characteristics of this immigrant group stand out. The first is its orientation toward the Dominican Republic. As a group, Dominicans do not consider themselves "immigrants" in the permanent sense the word connotes. Instead, they see their stay in the United States as a temporary one. Their savings are often sent to the Island, either to support their relatives there or

to buy a house. According to Hendricks (1978), there are towns on the Island which are more than 50 percent supported by contributions from Dominicans in the United States. The author has met persons who have bought homes on the Island which are currently used to provide better housing for relatives there, and which will eventually become their places of retirement.

Continuing this pattern of very close ties with the Island, newspapers from the Dominican Republic are sold daily in major cities in the United States, and political discussions center around Island politics. All the major Island political parties have offices in the metropolitan area, and at election time political rallies are organized as if the elections were to take place here. The author met one Dominican residing in the target area who was a candidate to the Senate of the Dominican Republic from a suburban area to the capital, Santo Domingo. It appears that fund raising for local elections is very fruitful, and it is said that large numbers of Dominicans travel to the Island to vote. Several of the key informants are of the opinion that one of the major problems of the Dominican community in the United States is that they are not allowed to vote through the Dominican

Consulate or by the use of absentee ballots. There is some organized effort aimed at obtaining constitutional reform to allow voting by absent Dominicans.

It could be argued that this problem is not much different from the one faced by United States citizens abroad. However, there are major differences between the two groups and their migration patterns. For one, the number of United States citizens migrating to any one country, other than retirees, is negligible, compared to either the total population of the United States or to the size of the Dominican migration to this country. United States citizens who are neither tourists nor retirees, by and large, travel and live abroad as employees of United States firms or after they have secured employment from an international organization. The author has observed that because of the position of the United States in the world, when United States citizens establish themselves in a foreign country in significant numbers, they bring the resources and political influence necessary to assure a level of comfort equal to or higher than that which they had in the United States. Evidently, this is not the case with the Dominicans. Their orientation toward the Island, to the extent that it prevents them from becoming a political

force in the United States, places them at a disadvantage with other groups in the competition over scarce resources.

The second unique characteristic of this migrant group, the alleged large number of undocumented aliens among the Dominican community, is another factor which contributes to Dominicans presenting needs different from other migrant groups in the city. Their illegal status prevents the undocumented Dominicans from obtaining services, and may render them vulnerable to exploitation in the job market. It also creates an extremely complicated migration pattern and set of relationships, as discussed by Garrison and Weiss (1979). The combined effect of Dominicans' orientation to their native country, the number of undocumented aliens, and the intricate network of relationships creates an atmosphere of instability which, according to mental health professionals working with Dominicans in the city, results in great psychological stress. The impact appears to be more dramatic on children and adolescents.

In the second part of the beginning phase, those persons who were starting to emerge as candidates to be invited were contacted. The approach to them was very

similar to that used with the key informants. A major change was that this time the approach was guided by the assumption that if approached with the expectation that they were interested in and concerned about the problems of their fellow Dominicans, they would respond by acting to change any conditions adversely affecting the community. The practice principle here was that the worker should convey an expectation of concern on the part of the client and confidence in his/her maturity. The opening remarks, after a very brief introduction of the author and the project, were something like, "You have been identified by several persons as an individual who has demonstrated great interest in the problems of the Dominicans and who is in a position to do something about it. I need your help." Because the design called for the selection of those who showed most interest, the wording was carefully thought out to not extend an invitation prematurely.

The original design also called for the use of a questionnaire to assist in the selection. In actuality, it became evident that using a questionnaire during this interview would not be conducive to the development of a relationship between the organizer and the candidate for the committee; therefore, its use was postponed as discussed

in Chapter VII. The opinion about the negative impact of the questionnaire was based on the realization that the author would then be likely to be seen more as a "researcher" than as an "organizer," with all the negative connotations attached to research in many local ethnic communities. The decision not to use the questionnaire at this time was based on a judgment that no amount of verbal and rational explanations about the needs of the organizer as a doctoral student would erase the negative feelings. This instance showed the possible conflict between the roles of researcher and organizer, and the need to be very clear about both one's own priorities and the relative importance of individual procedures within an overall strategy. It was therefore decided to postpone the application of the questionnaire until the first meeting, with the thought that by the end of the first meeting those in attendance would have developed at least an initial trust in the organizer, and that the questionnaire would not carry as much weight then as it would have earlier in the process. The postponement of the questionnaire was judged to not substantially alter the project design.

It is important to stress that the organizer

approached the initial interview as someone with both a need and a resource, who was able to exchange the resource in order to meet the need. The need was to gather the information and obtain the participants' cooperation in order to complete her doctoral project. The resource was her expertise and knowledge, which would be available to help the participants in their work to improve conditions for the Dominicans in the city.

It was made very clear that the focus of the doctoral project was to test certain principles and assumptions relating to social work practice with communities, and that it was not essential to work with the Dominican community. The reason for this exchange of information was that one of the roles the community organizer plays is that of negotiator. From practical experience obtained in many organizing endeavors, the author knew that an important factor in the negotiator's potential success would be his/her ability to use every opportunity to strengthen his/her position vis-a-vis the "target." The word target is used very deliberately, for it is extremely important that the organizer differentiate among the various systems to be dealt with. By doing so, one is better able to evaluate the situation

and choose interventions which are ethical.

During this phase, the author was also aware of the fact that from the moment of the first contact with any person who was a candidate to participate as informal leader, anything said or done was part of the development of a contract between the organizer and client. Clarity of purpose was therefore of the essence. For example, when one potential participant said, "You do the research and leave the organizing to us" (meaning his organization), the reply was, "I would love to do that, but it is part of the project to select the participants and do the initial organizing. However, I will continue to keep you informed and obtain your views. Once the group is organized, it will be completely up to the members how to proceed."

This clarification, together with the commitment to turn over the process to the group, was necessary. It also implied the possibility of departing from the original proposal. On the one hand, the original project design had to be adhered to, departing only in those aspects which did not substantially alter it, until such time as the central practice principles and assumptions had been tested. At the same time, it was thought to be

important to be ready to alter it when a higher value so dictated. The commitment to turn the decision making over to the group members, once the group was organized, was dictated by the fact that, at that point, the group would be the client and its members would have the right to exercise decision-making authority, with the organizer acting as a consultant or technical expert. At that time, departure from the original design was not deemed to violate its integrity; on the contrary, such departures could serve to identify practice principles not previously spelled out. It turned out that the organizer played a very different role and became a member of the Board.

Intermediate Phase

This phase had as its general objectives (1) the implementation of a needs assessment process involving informal leaders and resource persons, and (2) the organization of the participants into an action group.

While for the purpose of the analysis this phase is handled as completely separate from the previous one, in reality that was not the case. Since there was some overlapping between key informants and informal leaders, the process of forming a relationship with the latter,

and even in some cases inviting them to participate, started toward the end of the beginning phase.

Three criteria had been established to determine who would be invited. First, the person had to be mentioned by key informants at least twice. Second, s/he had to show a certain level of interest by filling out the cohesiveness questionnaire at the first interview. (This second criteria was not implemented as discussed under limitations of the study.) Third, his/her participation must not have been challenged by other potential participants on grounds of negative reputation in the community.

The first criteria was the easiest to adhere to. It served as a preliminary indication to the author that the person to be interviewed was a likely candidate for participation. This meant that there were instances when an interviewee might be formally playing the role of key informant, while at the same time the organizer knew that s/he was also an informal leader. In those cases, relying on the organizer's assessment of the candidate, a preliminary overture was made. This was done by the organizer asking, toward the end of the interview, "Would you attend a meeting to explore together with other Dominicans the

idea of forming an action group?" If the answer was in the affirmative, the person was then asked which time was more convenient and who else s/he would like to have invited. At this point, it was made clear that since the project called for a group no larger than fifteen, not everyone suggested by each person would actually be invited. It was also pointed out that part of the criteria for selecting participants was that anyone about whom several persons had doubts would not be invited.

During the previous phase fifty-three key informants had been identified, and about twenty-five potential candidates began to emerge. Of the key informants identified, thirty-three were interviewed during the summer and fall of 1980. Because of personal problems, the author's work was interrupted from December 1980 to May 1981, when it was resumed. By the time the work was resumed, the trip to the Dominican Republic had taken place and the problem of bringing together members from very different political ideologies had emerged with more force than initially anticipated. A direct question relating to this issue was added to the interviews conducted after the trip. A review of process recordings of previous interviews showed that the issue had been touched on with

various degrees of specificity by several key informants.

At that time the thought was entertained to form, or try to form, two different groups in order to accommodate the two major political ideologies. After careful consideration, it was decided not to follow this course of action. There were several reasons for discarding this idea. To begin with, it was reasoned that creating two groups would divide and weaken the effort before either group had an opportunity to develop enough strength. In addition, it would fragment the project and create two competing groups, thus reducing the chance of either one succeeding in obtaining the financial support needed in order for a permanent organization to be established. Finally, it had become evident, from the knowledge that had been developed by this time through readings and interviews, that one of these two groups would have to be formed of older Dominicans who, by and large, had been associated with the traditional politics on the Island and who in the United States gravitated close to formal political machineries in the city. This segment of the community had already established themselves in positions which they perceived as giving them a certain leverage in city politics. It seemed that the gap between this segment and the

rest of the community was rather wide and difficult to bridge. This last reservation was validated by some key informants who did not gravitate toward either pole. It was also voiced by a person who was a potential candidate at the beginning of the project and who could be placed somewhere in the middle of the two tendencies, although closer to the "old guard."

This person had been mentioned more often than anyone else. He had been working in the city for many years, and his name had come up not only through key informants. He had been among the persons named as key resource persons in the household survey conducted by Perez in 1978. This particular individual acknowledged the many efforts at organizing a group such as the one the author was proposing. He had come to the conclusion that an approach different from the one he and others had used was needed, and thought the author's approach was consistent with his own analysis of what had to be done. He also expressed the opinion that any effort to succeed had to rely on the younger generation. By this he meant the twenty-five to thirty-five year age group, mainly with college degrees. He recognized that his time had "passed," and that the best he could do would be to support the

efforts without getting directly involved. He offered to convene the first meeting, if that was needed, but to quickly step aside.

As mentioned earlier, one of the criteria for selection was the acceptance of each candidate among other elements in the community, particularly among those who themselves were prospective members of the group to be formed. Not unexpectedly there was controversy about this most public figure among the potential participants. This issue placed the author in an awkward position. It was fortunate that this person had taken the initiative, during the author's interview with him, to define his possible role in a rather limited way. As events evolved, he was unable to make the first meeting and those present, with the exception of one person, concurred with him and decided not to involve him at that stage. This instance highlights a situation which is very common in community work. Whether one acknowledges it or not, the reality is that community organizers must constantly assess the impact each potential participant may have on the group and are often put in the position of selecting out those whose presence would be so negative as to undermine the purpose of the group.

In the course of the project the organizer had to screen out two persons who otherwise met the criteria for informal leader. In the other instance it was not so difficult, for the author met the person very early in the process and it quickly became evident that his reputation, due to his political activities, was such as to color the effort in a way that could render the group inoperative from the inception.

The reader should note that the term "select out" did not imply a total and permanent exclusion. It referred rather to the timing. The thought was that at the beginning of the effort group members should present some basic characteristics which would maximize the chances of the group developing cohesiveness and being accepted by the larger community. It was anticipated that once the group was established, and its goal and purpose clearly defined, even the most controversial elements in the Dominican community could be given an opportunity to participate. Actually, the issues of whom to invite, the size of the initial group, and the timing and mechanism for opening it to the community at large were controversial issues which permeated the discussion up to the eighth meeting. It was also thought that at the point when the

organizer turned the process over to the group, the group would assume responsibility for defining membership.

Characteristics of candidates

Of tne twenty-five persons who had been mentioned twice or more, twelve were invited to participate in the first meeting. The reasons for not inviting the others were as follows.

Three were eliminated prior to an initial interview, two because they neither worked nor lived in the geographic area designated as the focus of the project, while the third was politically at odds with the rest of the potential leaders. Following the initial interview, nine more were eliminated, each for a different reason. The reasons were as follows:

1. Never followed through with scheduled appointments after the first one.
2. Ruled himself out at the interview.
3. Moved back to the Dominican Republic.
4. Preferred to be a key informant only, not interested in taking any action to correct perceived problems, for he subscribes to a more laissez-faire doctrine.

5. Had a poor reputation due to alleged unethical professional practice.
6. Discredited politically due to his perceived ambition and profession.
7. North American leader of one of the two major political parties in the United States. Respected as a politician, but also suspect because of his formal ties to an established party.
8. Had been mentioned because of his religious background and his position with a major church. He was interviewed and included in the key informant category. He is not a Dominican and currently neither lives nor works in the area.
9. Moved to Long Island and was trying to reduce her community involvement.

The pool from which the group eventually evolved had a total of seventeen persons, either invited directly by the author or by someone else (discussed under limitations of the study). Three were women and three were physicians. Two of the women and two of the physicians became members of the group and played key instrumental roles. One

of the physicians also played an affective role. Personal characteristics of the group members are shown in Table 3.

The code letter given bears no relationship to the real names of group members. The information is disguised in order to prevent identification, and each "person" described is a composite of several individuals.

Mr. A. His name had not been mentioned by any of the key informants. He attended the first meeting because he found out about it from someone who had been invited. He then attended the third meeting and was eventually dropped for lack of attendance.. During the two meetings he did attend he participated by asking questions and expressing great reservations about the ability of "the system" to allow change through peaceful means. Mr. A. has a B.A., is an American citizen and has been in the United States for over fifteen years.

Ms. B. Has a Master's degree from a major United States university. She was not invited by the organizer since her name had not been mentioned. She initially came representing a candidate who had been mentioned twice but could not attend the first meeting. For that reason she did not fill out the cohesiveness questionnaire. As the group evolved, Ms. B. played a prominent

instrumental role. Her clear mind helped to guide discussion and she was very well organized when follow-up was required. She also played a cohesive (affective) role, helping to mediate differences of opinion and finding language which was acceptable to various points of view. Between meetings, during the period from June 6, 1981, to January 30, 1982, she participated in two subcommittees, and took the initiative in calling the organizer and other members as needed. She acted as a coordinator once and presided over a very good meeting, showing qualities of an excellent chairperson. She became a member of the first Board of Directors. She attended eight out of the first ten meetings.

Mr. C. was one of the persons more often mentioned by key informants, and also one of two persons who was not invited due to conflicting attitudes among participants. For the past twenty years, he has been very active in community-social affairs and has been in business in the Dominican community. He was interviewed at his office and expressed regrets that he had not been able to do what the author was proposing to do, even when he tried on different occasions. He felt his time had passed and his life was too comfortable to continue struggling

in community affairs. He was of the opinion that the time had come for him to step aside and leave the field to "los pinos nuevos" (colloquial for "the younger generation"). He offered to play a role in convening the first meeting if the author needed that help. As the time passed, the meeting was called without his help. He did not attend the first meeting and was seen in the vicinity of the second, but never appeared at the meeting. He was not invited again and it was decided that after the group was formed, he could be invited with the rest of the community. Initially, it was felt that his presence would detract more than add to the effort.

Mr. D. is a young Dominican who was the individual most often mentioned (seven times). He has been in the United States for over fifteen years and has been very active in community affairs. He has an attractive personality which facilitates his relationships with many diverse groups. Some key informants feel he should run for political office and wonder why he has not done so. He operates a business in the community, works part time at whatever he can find, and goes to college in the evening in addition to his multiple community activities. At the meetings he kept a low profile, and his interventions were always

constructive. He participated in several subcommittees and it was evident that he kept in touch with several members in between meetings, playing an important affective role. It was not until the tenth meeting that he was officially given a major responsibility which he discharged in a conscientious manner.

Mr. E. is also a young Dominican, who was mentioned three times by key informants. He was not invited to the first meeting because at the interview he stated that he did not want a group to be organized unless his agency did it. This was not consistent with the project's methodology. Consequently, he did not attend the first meeting. Someone invited him to the second meeting, and he became very interested. He participated very actively in seven out of nine meetings to which he had been invited. He played a very important role as coordinator of many activities; he also was a voice toward opening the group to the whole community. It took several meetings to get him to see how impractical that was. In the drafting of the by-laws, he was a strong spokesperson for accountability and for holding members to a strict code of personal and professional ethics. He headed one of the early subcommittees and was very conscientious in sending reminders

of the meetings and calling members.

Mr. F. was not invited by the author because his name never came up during the interviews with key informants. He evidently was invited by someone else, and started attending after the second meeting. He never filled out a cohesiveness questionnaire since he was not present at the meetings when it was done. He was quiet at the meetings, asked an occasional question and was about to be dropped from the first Board of Directors because he had failed to attend four consecutive meetings. Evidently, he was notified and started attending again. His attendance has remained a problem and his status in the group will be reviewed again.

Mr. G. was not originally invited by the author for the same reasons as Mr. F. He is a community worker with an action group and was relatively quiet at meetings. He participated for the most part by asking questions, and by providing information about the experience of other community groups and attempts at organizing the community. He attended seven out of nine meetings to which he was invited and became a member of the first Board of Directors. He did not participate in any subcommittee or activities in between meetings.

Mr. H. was mentioned three times by key informants and demonstrated great interest in the group from the beginning. Associated with a major professional human service agency, he is regarded by his colleagues as an expert in his field and is often consulted by professional associates. He has never participated in community groups and up to now has been involved only in professional associations. However, he was active in both civic and political associations in the Dominican Republic. He has been in the United States for over ten years and is a United States citizen. He played very important instrumental and affective roles during and in between meetings. He was accepted as a leader by several of the other members. His style is low-keyed and firm. He is very concerned with reputation and was careful in promoting a process which protected the integrity of the group by careful screening of new members while at the same time making sure that the group was opened to different segments of the community.

It was evident because of remarks made by other group members that he did keep in touch with several of them in between meetings and that his opinion was sought even when he was not a designated member of a given

committee. He participated in most of the meetings of the committee responsible for developing a draft of the by-laws of the group. At the regular meetings he expressed his views with conviction, but was always ready to find a middle ground that would be acceptable to the majority.

Mr. I. This member was invited from the beginning since he had been mentioned three times by key informants. He was the most "suspicious" participant, verbalizing the most direct and sharp questions about the intentions of the author, her background and possible hidden agenda. Because he had not received her curriculum vitae, he asked for it and insisted on having a detailed account of her previous professional activities. He did fill out the cohesiveness questionnaire at the first meeting and expressed great interest. At the second meeting, he left before the end of the meeting, and he did not attend the third. He sent a message at the fourth meeting saying he would come in late to explain why he would not continue in the group, but he never appeared. However, he did attend the fifth meeting, apologized for failing to appear at the previous one, and explained that he had intended to leave the group. He then added that he had received positive feedback about how the group was evolving and

had decided to stay.

Once he abandoned his initial posture, he started to play an integrating role, was very thoughtful and actively participated in discussions. Because of his commitment to the voluntary organization over which he presides, his time was limited and he did not initially participate in subcommittee work. He attended six out of ten meetings to which he was invited and became a member of the first Board of Directors. His role in general was that of "democratic conscience" of the group. He also clarified and summarized discussions.

Mr. J. Has also been in the United States for over fifteen years. He was mentioned more than twice by key informants and was invited among the initial group. He attended nine out of ten meetings and actively participated in different committees. At first he had difficulty conceptualizing the project unless it was in very concrete terms. Because of his large physical make-up and his youthful personality, he played an integrative role of "big boy." Other members often teased him. He always responded with good humor. In addition to his integrative role, Mr. J. played an active instrumental role, both at the regular meetings and at committee meetings. He later

became a member of the committee which had the first contact with other agencies and showed great identification with the group and clear understanding of its mission. He became a member of the Board of Directors.

Mr. K. This member's participation was atypical. He was interviewed and showed great interest in the assumptions and purpose of the project. Because he had been mentioned more than twice he was invited to participate and promised to attend. The first and second meetings he sent his regrets with another participant. Eventually, he was dropped because of lack of interest evidenced by his non-attendance. However, as the group moved ahead and showed greater viability, he showed interest during conversations with other members and by showing up at the end of a meeting in late December. When the Board was expanded to add three new members in February, his name was one of four submitted. He had the highest number of votes and was invited to join the Board. He attended the next meeting in March. His role will not be discussed here for it took place after the January 30th cut-off date for the project.

Mr. L. This is the oldest member of the group. He

had been longer in the United States than others and held a higher position professionally and in voluntary community activities. He had been mentioned multiple times but because of an oversight on the author's part, had not been invited to the first meeting. He was invited by telephone to the second meeting and became a regular member. Because of his position in the community, he was extremely respected by all other members and played a very positive role in settling differences of opinion on critical issues. While he missed three out of the first ten meetings, he always presented a reasonable justification for his absence, and was always the first to arrive when he came. Mr. L. actively participated in one of the committees and was the first to make a cash contribution to the group. He played very active integrative and instrumental roles and became a member of the first Board of Directors.

Mr. M. This person had been mentioned twice and consequently was invited to participate. He had been interviewed earlier as a key informant, and expressed interest in the project as well as agreement with the guiding assumptions. However, he did not attend any of the meetings. Two factors may explain his non-attendance. First,

he had indicated that he would not attend meetings on weekends because he works at two jobs during the week and reserves the weekends to be with his family (wife and two young children). Second, he lives in a section of the city which is really outside the immediate area of activity of the group. He was invited to the first three meetings and eventually dropped when the group became formalized.

Ms. N. Was among the first key informants identified and interviewed. Eventually, she became a participant after her name was mentioned several times by other informants and resource persons. She has been in the United States for less than ten years, and has been very active with some of the grass-roots organizations which provide services to the Dominicans. At the first meeting she played a key role in supporting the legitimacy of the author's motives. She attended six out of the first ten meetings, and chaired the committee which prepared the first draft of the by-laws of the group. She also chaired a meeting of the whole group which was very effective. She was the only Dominican woman invited to participate among the first group and one of the only two identified as key informants and resource persons. (The other female identified was interviewed as a key informant but was

not invited to participate because she had moved to Long Island and was trying to reduce her community involvement.)

Mr. O. Was mentioned twice toward the end of the interviews with key informants. He was invited to the first meeting, but was not able to attend. He attended only three out of ten meetings but was always careful to send a justification for his absence. Toward the end of the project he showed more interest and it was expected that he would become very active with one of the permanent committees. He participated in one of the committees set up before the Board was officially constituted.

Ms. P. This is a Hispanic woman who is not Dominican, but who was interviewed as a key informant because, as a professional working in the community, she has a very good knowledge of community needs and aspirations as well as an awareness of different ethnic groups. Eventually, she emerged as a potential participant because she was mentioned more than twice, and other resource persons felt she should be invited, even though not a Dominican. She was invited to the first three meetings, but did not attend any and was dropped by the group. It is interesting that Ms. P. was the only "formal" political leader invited to participate and chose not to.

Mr. Q. Was invited to the first meeting because he qualified in terms of his role as a resource person and because his name came up more than twice during interviews with key informants and other potential participants. He was met briefly by the author at the community health conference and showed interest. As with the previous person, he was invited to the first three meetings and dropped when he failed to attend.

Final Phase

Group Structure

The group has not been formally organized following the traditional structure of an executive committee with president, secretary, and so forth. Rather, the desire of the participants was to have a "leaderless" group in which each member had equal responsibilities and prerogatives.

While the size of the group made it possible for it to function without a formal leader, the need soon became evident for a mechanism to both distribute responsibilities between meetings and to have someone to hold accountable when things did not happen. After a while the author decided to play a rather passive role in between meetings, in order to force some type of structuring which

would insure the group's continuing to function when she was no longer there. The notion of collective leadership was attractive in terms of making the group stronger by not depending too much on any one member, but the issue of accountability for implementation of decisions and for functioning in between meetings became increasingly pressing after several meetings.

For the first three meetings the author had taken responsibility for sending reminders to everyone and for calling those who had been charged with some activity by the group. For the fourth meeting no reminders and no calls were made, and the attendance dropped from ten to five between the third and the fourth meetings. After that the group decided to appoint a "coordinator" for the next two meetings. Eventually a formal mechanism evolved by which two members at every meeting have defined responsibilities as follows:

1. The "coordinator," who is appointed at the previous meeting, presides as chairperson of the day. S/he has responsibility for calling the meeting to order, presenting a proposed agenda, reading the minutes from the previous meeting, and chairing the meeting.

2. The secretary of the day and coordinator

designate takes the minutes of the meeting. When the meeting is over s/he becomes the coordinator until the following meeting and is responsible for preparation of the minutes, sending reminders to all members for the next meeting, seeing to it that decisions taken at the meeting are implemented, and keeping in touch with commissions (described below) as needed. This person is in fact the leader of the group in between meetings. However, s/he does not have power to act or speak on behalf of the group unless specifically instructed.

In addition the group is divided into four work groups called commissions. Each commission has a permanent coordinator and each Board member is expected to participate on at least one commission. The commissions are:

1. Technical Assistance: responsible for developing a fund-raising strategy and for its implementation after approval by the Board. Accomplishments:

   - A fund-raising plan has been prepared and approved by the Board.
   - Meetings have been held with two foundations, both of which have requested proposals.

- A letter of intent and budget has been prepared for submission to one of the foundations.
- A position paper is in process for submission to the other foundation.
- A group of lawyers have agreed to do pro bono work in order to get the group incorporated.

2. Political Action: responsible for developing a plan of action aimed at empowering the Dominicans in the target area. Accomplishments:

- A general plan of action has been prepared and approved by the Board.
- Letters have been written to fourteen major political (elected) leaders requesting a meeting and ten positive responses have been received.
- Together with the Public Interest and Community Relations Commission this commission is organizing a cocktail party for the elected officials who responded to its letter.
- Also with the Public Interest and Community

Relations Commission, this commission is organizing the first meeting with other Dominican organizations, scheduled for the fall.

. This Commission is coordinating the work of five sub-groups which are preparing position papers for discussion with the elected officials and other governmental representatives later in the year.

3. Public Interest and Community Relations: responsible for developing a plan of action to publicize the work of the Board and to provide support to the other Commissions and ad hoc work groups as needed. Accomplishments:

. Stationary has been designed and obtained.

. A plan of action has been prepared and approved by the Board.

. This Commission is jointly responsible with the Political Action Commission for the organization of the two activities mentioned above (community meeting and cocktail party with elected officials).

4. Research and Data Bank Commission: responsible

for (a) compiling studies on Dominicans conducted by other agencies; (b) proposing follow up on such studies; (c) identifying research gaps and encouraging research in these areas; (d) developing a Data Bank to support the work of the Board and the other Commissions and ad hoc work groups. Accomplishments:

- A work plan has been developed and approved by the Board.
- A questionnaire to be filled out by each human service agency and policy making group operating in the target area is in preparation.
- Compilation of studies on Dominicans has been initiated.

In addition to Board members the Commissions are open to other Dominicans who want to join. This is a mechanism both to broaden the base of the initial group and recruit future Board members.

Events Not Planned by the Author but Capitalized On

It had been anticipated that during the period of project implementation, events outside of the author's control would occur and impact on the outcome of the

project. One such happening in particular, a health conference organized under the leadership of a local Community Health Council and the Democratic Party district leaders, facilitated the work. The author was invited to it by the Democratic leaders, both of whom had been interviewed earlier as key informants, even though neither one is a Dominican. Both had been mentioned repeatedly by Dominicans as key informants.

The health conference was an all-day event on a Saturday and, at the end of the afternoon, there was a Dominican folk show. Attendance at the conference presented the opportunity of meeting several leaders who had not been contacted before. The author was personally introduced to these leaders either by a key informant or an informal leader previously interviewed. The author's presence at the conference provided a reaffirmation of her genuine interest, as acknowledged by several persons. In addition to attendance at the conference, the author had also accepted an invitation to attend a planning meeting at which she was introduced to all those in attendance, about forty persons. The members of that planning committee were all leaders of social clubs and other Dominican groups and meeting them gave the author a wide exposure

to the organized Dominican community. Even when the design of the project did not call for organizing through established organizations, attendance at this meeting provided the opportunity to become visible, mix with an important segment of the Dominican power structure in the city, observe their interactions, and gain a better understanding of their way of thinking--and, most importantly, to be observed by several of those who eventually were to become members of the group the author had set out to organize.

At that planning meeting, it was evident that the organizer was being accepted by everyone. Initial cordial relationships were established with a good number of those present. It is not possible to measure the contribution of such an opportunity to the organizing effort. However, one measure of some significance is that every potential participant met at the planning meeting and health conference accepted the invitation to the first meeting.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

From the interview with the first person, a list of twelve key informants and resource persons was prepared. Each of these was interviewed, as well as members of the Roman Catholic clergy, as described in the methodology. A departure from the design was that no Pentecostal minister was interviewed as, contrary to expectations, none emerged as playing a significant role in community affairs among Dominicans as is the case with other Hispanic groups.

As the project proceeded fifty-three key informants were identified and thirty-three interviewed. From this pool, twenty-five informal leaders were identified and twelve invited to participate in the needs assessment process.

Key informants identified	53
Key informants interviewed	33
Potential candidates (persons mentioned at least twice)	25
Informal leaders invited to participate	12

The key informants varied in age from twenty-six to fifty-eight, and most had been in the United States for more than five years. They were for the most part professionals: lawyers, physicians, social workers and community workers. This corroborated the assumptions of the project in regard to the roles played by service delivery personnel.

Feedback on Project Assumptions

The information obtained from interviewing thirty-three key informants confirmed the project's basic assumptions, namely that Dominicans are currently not represented on either public or private policy making and/or program development boards. No elected official from the district on which the project focuses is Dominican, and even though Dominicans are the largest Hispanic group in the area, the one Hispanic district leader is not a Dominican. There are no Dominicans on the Boards of Trustees of the two main voluntary hospitals serving the area, nor on the Community Board of the local municipal hospital. Only one Dominican sits on the Community Planning Board and two on the local School Board.

The situation at the staff level in local human service agencies is very similar, with no appreciable number of Dominicans in staff positions and none in top administrative positions. This situation is especially significant since, as discussed earlier (see page 11), Dominican immigrants are primarily from the more educated segments of the population of the Dominican Republic. In the field of education, there seems to be a better representation of Dominicans. However, it was not within the scope of this project to survey institutions of higher education, for by and large they play an insignificant role in public policy making and none at all in the allocation of funds.

Some key informants expressed the view that the assumptions were so "on target" and the nonrepresentation of Dominicans in decision-making bodies so pervasive that it will take ten to twelve years to change the situation.

A Dominican ran for the City Council recently, but did not obtain the support of the community and had to withdraw.

Problems of the Dominican Community as Identified by Key Informants

Everyone interviewed mentioned two problems as the most important: (1) the undocumented Dominicans, and

(2) most Dominicans' perception of their stay in the United States as "temporary." Several key informants interpret the attitude of Dominicans toward their stay in the United States as a denial of reality. This in turn causes a great deal of instability, especially among the children. It prevents them from establishing roots in the United States and developing a sense of belonging. This opinion was held especially by key informants with a mental health background.

Other key informants, fifteen out of the thirty-three interviewed, perceived the major impact of the Dominicans' attitude toward their stay in the United States in political terms--that is, as contributing to depriving them of their rights because it prevents them from voting, and certainly from voting as a group. In this respect, all agreed that the rejection of the United States as a permanent home prevents thousands of Dominicans from becoming citizens even when they become eligible, and that therefore they are not a factor in the political process here. In fact, in the Dominican community there appears to be a stigma associated with becoming a United States citizen, and many who do are said not to acknowledge it.

A direct result of Dominicans in general viewing their stay in the United States as temporary is their lack of interest in community affairs. It is important to mention that this factor may tend to reinforce the cultural predisposition of nonparticipation which was discussed in the introduction.

The structure of the Dominican family in the United States is extremely complex due to the immigration laws. The intricate set of relationships which this produces is seen by the mental health workers interviewed as causing great stress and confusion in children. The work of Garrison and Weiss (1979) support this finding. Because of the immigration pattern of the Dominican family, it is not uncommon for parents to leave their children on the Island when first coming to the United States. Several key informants believe that these actions are not understood by the children, who experience it as abandonment. When, after several years, they finally join their parents in the United States, the relationship is often strained.

Five key informants identified as a major problem the inability of Dominicans in the United States to vote in Dominican elections. These Dominicans feel that there is a need to pass a Constitutional Amendment in the

the Dominican Republic in order to allow absentee voting.

The same informants felt that another problem is the lack of support and services offered by the Dominican Consultate in the area. Specifically, they were critical of the lack of information about job opportunities, their rights as immigrants, and the need for orientation of professionals seeking to validate their degrees in the United States. All agreed that the Consultate does not serve well those planning to go back to the Island after retirement. They felt the Consultate should provide them with information on investment opportunities, real estate, and so forth, in the Dominican Republic.

Attitude Toward Health Social Services

Two of the professional mental health workers interviewed as key informants reported that some of their Dominican clients view mental illness as a punishment of God and possession by witches. These clients accepted mental health services only after interventions by spiritualists and faith healers had failed. In the opinion of these mental health workers, however, Dominicans are not involved in Voodoo and similar forms of religious rituals as are Cubans and other Caribbean immigrants. This seems to be because Dominicans may perceive Voodoo as an

expression of the domination of the Dominican Republic by Haiti.

Several informants reported that Dominicans are ashamed of applying for welfare and Medicaid and prefer to use private doctors instead of going to the hospital. It is said to be not uncommon for Dominicans to go to Santo Domingo at great expense when in need of surgery, even if they are Medicaid recipients.

It was also reported that Dominican immigrants prefer to go directly to public agencies, such as the Department of Labor, than to voluntary agencies, especially if these are run by other Dominicans. Several Dominicans who were interviewed informally while riding in the subways during the course of the project gave responses corroborating this view. This mistrust by Dominicans of the voluntary agency may reflect the lack of such social agencies in their own country.

Three of the key informants expressed the view that welfare has a very negative impact on the Dominican family. In the opinion of these informants, women develop attitudes of independence and lack of tolerance toward their husbands because of the availability of economic support from the Department of Social Services. This was

thought by those key informants to contribute to the breakdown of the family and a diminished sense of self-respect on the part of the Dominican male.

Previous Efforts at Organizing the Community

Organization of the Dominican community follows the same pattern as in the Dominican Republic, revolving around members of the same family and town; organizations seem to be a network playing an emotional support function. Restaurants and groceries serve as information centers.

Several years ago there was an attempt at organizing a Dominican political (Democratic) club, but it did not go far. There was also an effort in the past few years at organizing a city-wide Dominican Planning Council, including leaders from several boroughs and agencies. There were several meetings and press releases, but nothing came of it. This Council also had in mind the provision of technical assistance to other Dominican groups. Finally, there was an effort by a Dominican minister who tried to organize a Neighborhood Association, but this folded after several months. All three efforts focused primarily on organizing representatives from established groups.

One major problem identified by many of the key

informants was the lack of Dominican representation at all decision-making levels in the United States, in both private and public agencies. However, there was a mixed reaction as to the need to have a new organizing vehicle. There was overwhelming support for the need to obtain Dominican representation at each policy making level, but at the same time an uncertainty was expressed about the strategy to achieve it. One message which came across clearly was the need for the organizer, in this case the author, to have a clear idea as to how to proceed, and to be specific and concrete in presenting the project to the prospective participants.

Three key informants mentioned the failure of the effort to organize the city-wide Dominican Planning Council, and did not see much hope for a similar effort ever succeeding.

Two said that probably the most prominent effort was in relation to Hurricane David, and that this effort was eventually abandoned because of suspicion among the various groups.

Five key informants volunteered the opinion that the Dominican organizations are primarily social and athletic, while the cultural and civic component of their

activities is very minor. Those key informants who did not volunteer this opinion agreed with it when asked.

There are many Dominican groups providing services to the Dominican community on a voluntary basis, supported out of the pockets of the organizers and with unpaid staff. Only two agencies exist which receive some funding from outside sources. One is a small action group called Alianza Hispano-Americana which gets some city funds. The other is Dominican Manpower, also known as Asociaciones Dominicanas, which is the only established and well-funded service agency.

In addition there is an association or federation of social clubs. Several key informants referred to what appears to be an informal family-centered network of support services. Some of these same informants expressed concern that if the Dominican community is successful at organizing and funding some service programs, the informal support system might disappear.

In terms of both political and functional organizations, activities focus on the Island rather than on the city or the United States. As mentioned earlier, for example, the fund raising on behalf of the victims of Hurricane David in the Dominican Republic was one of the most

important organizing efforts among the Dominicans in the city.

Every major Dominican political party has active offices in the city. A meeting of the group organized as a result of this project had to be postponed because it coincided with the visit of the candidate for President of the Dominican Republic from the party currently in power. Fund raising activities for political campaigns in the Dominican Republic are apparently ongoing activities among the immigrants.

There have been at least three other major organizing activities, all revolving around issues emanating from the Island. One was the effort to obtain the designation of a place in the city for a statue of Duarte, the founder of the Dominican Republic. This effort resulted in the placement of his statue at the beginning of a major avenue and the designation of a small park there as Plaza Duarte. Another effort related to the attempts to build a cathedral to Our Lady of Altagracia, Patron of the Dominican Republic. This effort is not currently being pursued. A third major effort is the current Crusade to Save Our Children, aimed at collecting funds to help poor children on the Island.

The efforts in relation to the placement of Duarte's statue and the building of the cathedral to Our Lady of Altagracia may be indications of a beginning acceptance by Dominicans in the city of the permanent nature of the migration to the United States.

CHAPTER VI

NEW USES OF KNOWLEDGE: THE NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS AS AN ORGANIZING AND GROUP DEVELOPMENT TOOL

Background

The literature reviewed in group work and community organization yielded limited information on specific techniques an organizer may use in assisting an action group in the process of group formation to move in an efficient manner from the first stage to the last. By and large the literature focuses on style and role of the leader, and role of the worker/organizer.

Research into the literature on small group work provided valuable information on such important variables as group size, composition, and structure. Articles were also found on the concept of group locomotion and some of the factors affecting it.

For the research aspects of the project, the author wanted an approach which would allow the target groups to define the problems and, subsequently, to select the priorities for action. The design would be flexible to allow the researcher to follow up leads evolving during the project period. The use of a mailed questionnaire was ruled out because at that point the author did not have sufficient understanding of the nature of the problem, and the risk was high of developing a questionnaire which would produce invalid data.

There were other research problems. For one, as discussed earlier (see pages 6-8), there are some basic differences between the cultural background of migrants from Hispano-America and the dominant culture in the United States. Therefore, the author was interested in using a research approach which would help distinguish problems rooted in subjective, culturally determined feelings and attitudes from those problems which can be ascribed to bureaucracies and institutions.

Another issue was that data collection was not the primary nor the ultimate goal of the project. The main objective was the organization of an action group which would work at achieving the project's goal as

discussed in Chapter I. Consequently, an interactive approach which would bring the subjects together for the needs assessment task was required. The needs assessment was to serve as an organizing tool as well as a research element in the project.

In approaching the organization of the group, the author was concerned with the need to move it as expeditiously as possible into the action stage. There were two primary reasons for this urgency. First was the circumstances of the project, specifically that the organizer was acting as a "free agent," without an agency under whose sponsorship the project was being carried out. As a consequence, there was no other staff to continue the work once the project was completed. This issue had been raised earlier in the conceptualization of the project by a member of the committee that reviewed the proposal. While the author acknowledged a professional responsibility not to abandon the group once the data collection was completed, it was also recognized that other personal and professional commitments might prevent a long-term investment with the group beyond the iniital organizing stage.

The second reason had to do with the group itself.

From the literature on community organization and from practice wisdom, it was known that if too much time is involved in preliminary planning stages without some tangible results, members may get discouraged. With a group composed of relatively new immigrants from a Hispanic country, this concern was judged to be even more important, due to the time orientation discussed in Chapter I.

Other concerns influenced the selection of the particular approach. During early stages of conceptualizing the project, one possibility under consideration was to focus on several different nationalities. Thus a research tool was needed which would obviate the need to identify one single "representative group," and which would permit the use of several groups in an efficient way for data gathering purposes. It was also anticipated that the members would probably have varying personalities and educational backgrounds, indicating the need for a data gathering instrument which would equalize participation. As the conceptualization of the project progressed and the focus narrowed to only one nationality, the need for an instrument to equalize participation remained relevant, and the possibility of working with two different groups from the same nationality was contemplated briefly. Through these

developments the Nominal Group Process continued to be the instrument of choice, not only because it presented characteristics which made it the ideal research instrument (as discussed below), but, in addition, the author believed the process had the potential for being an effective tool for group development, and decided to test its application as such.

A search of the literature made in 1978 had revealed no published material on the use of the Nominal Group Process other than for purposes of exploratory studies and planning. In this usage the author had been exposed to it and had used it very early after its development in the 1960's by Van den Ven and Delbeck. The author and her associates had adapted and used it as a training instrument in the early 1970's at the Community Health Institute in New York City. This experience, although it has not been evaluated as to the impact of the Nominal Group Process itself, suggested its possible value as a group development strategy. At the time of this writing, in a final review of Social Work Research and Abstracts, one article on the use of the Nominal Group Process as an organizational research tool was found (Hairston, 1979). That article, while showing the

versatility of the Nominal Group Process, still does not discuss its application and contribution to group development.

Description of the Nominal Group Process

The Nominal Group Process, as developed by Van de Ven and Delberg (1971, 1972), is ideally suited to the kind of study the author wanted to conduct, under the circumstances described. This process was originally developed from studies of program design at the National Aeronautical and Space Administration (NASA), and was employed in other related studies regarding decision-making and planning processes in various fields.

As an exploratory research instrument, the Nominal Group Process can be used to:

1. Identify and enrich the researcher's understanding of a problem by providing judgmental statements amenable to quantification;
2. Arrive at a set of hypotheses concerning the meaning and effects of determinate aspects of the problem area; and
3. Focus attention on the major areas of inquiry, defined by the users themselves in their own argot, which may be pursued in greater detail

by means of interview or questionnaire instruments.

In addition to the greater effectiveness of this process over other methods of group data gathering, the Nominal Group Process has the major advantage of equalizing participation by members possessing different levels of particpatory skills and education, and preventing the domination of the problem formulating process by those participants who are more outspoken, and who may or may not represent the major concerns of the rest of the group.

This approach also makes it possible to elicit information from as many reference groups as judged advisable (i.e., official representatives, business community, local residents, etc.). Homogeneous groups of participants can be formed based on nationality, age, education, sex, etc.

The Nominal Group Process is basically a single, highly structured meeting, in the course of which the researcher elicits qualitative information from the target group (which, according to the original model, should not be larger than eight individuals).

The researchers then proceed to explain the purpose of the meeting and the rules under which it will be

conducted. This introduction is essential since considerable resistance to the process has been found among many diverse audiences. As part of this introduction, an explanation is given of the subjective and objective components of a problem and why it is important to list them separately. Participants are provided with two printed sheets of paper similar to those found in Appendix B. The researchers then present the question which the members of the target group are being asked to address. The question must be carefully selected and phrased to allow for a range of responses which will later be ranked in order of importance (e.g., transportation versus housing) and rated (a value between zero and one hundred will be given to each response).

The participants are then given fifteen minutes in which to generate their list. During this time, no discussion is allowed. After the fifteen minutes have passed, the researcher goes around the table asking each participant to share with the group one of the problems s/he wrote on the form. As this is done, the researcher (or the assistant) will write the problems on a large sheet of paper provided for the purpose and located where everyone can see and read it. There is no discussion

allowed during this phase either.

After everyone has presented all the items on his/her list, a thirty minute discussion of the items follows. At this time ideas are clarified and participants have an opportunity to combine items which may be repetitious. It is important that no item is excluded from the list at this point unless it is incorporated into another one. New items can be added at this time. At the end of the discussion, a fifteen minute break is taken.

Following the break, the group is asked to rank the items twice. First they are asked to select the ten most critical problems, and enter each one on a separate three by five card provided for this purpose. After selecting the items, they are asked to rank them by placing a ten on the most important, a one on the least important, nine on the next most important and so on until all the cards are ranked.

The results of this selection and ranking is again entered on a large sheet of paper for everyone to see, and after each participant has entered his/her selections and rankings, a brief discussion is allowed during which the participants can explain their choices, clarify problem

dimensions, and try to influence other persons' choices. After this discussion, the participants are asked to once again order their cards in terms of priorities among selected items, making any changes they wish. Once this is done, each person is asked to assign a value of one hundred to the most important item and a value between zero and one hundred to each of the other nine items. The cards are then collected by the staff for tabulation and analysis. Time is now allocated for an open discussion by participants, in which they are free to express their reactions to the process or to discuss the several problem areas identified. In the original Nominal Group Process the participants are then told that the data from the session will be analyzed and further research conducted to refine the findings.

Implementation

One of the issues of concern to the author in the implementation of the Nominal Group Process was the timing. From previous experience the author knew that an initial rejection of and resentment toward the technique is not uncommon. This phenomenon has not been discussed in the scarce literature on the process, perhaps because it has not been used, or at least not reported, as an

organizing and group development tool. Therefore, implementation of the Nominal Group Process was not scheduled for the first meeting.

The other issue of concern was the lack of interaction among participants during the Nominal Group Process. This was seen as a drawback because of its possible negative impact on group cohesiveness. Nevertheless, its use was scheduled for the second meeting based on the author's expectations that the identification of specific problems and the setting of action priorities would be interpreted by the participants as movement toward their goals and would promote group cohesiveness.

The plan for the first meeting was to focus on discussing the project as envisioned by the organizer, to meet each other and to informally discuss problems affecting the Dominican community. While each of these purposes was accomplished, this first meeting focused mainly on the organizer per se. The members questioned her intensely about her motivations, previous experience, political views and the project itself. Great concern was repeatedly expressed about the possibility of any one individual dominating the proposed group, and the need to form a democratic group, open to the whole community.

At the end of that meeting the second meeting was scheduled, and the organizer said that it would be more structured than the first one and would focus on identifying problems and priorities for action.

At the second meeting new members joined the group. Both these and the previous participants were eager to express their views on the dangers of organizing a non-democratic group and the failure of previous experiences at trying to organize an umbrella group. Some of the new members directed very sharp questions to the organizer and openly expressed suspicion of her motivation, though not in a hostile manner.

At the same time, members who had participated in the first meeting were already expressing impatience with the "slow progress," because this was the second meeting and "nothing has been accomplished." This impatience was interpreted by the organizer as an expression of the frustration accumulated from previous unsuccessful attempts along with a cultural background with a very heavy present time orientation. Nonetheless, the organizer was caught between two different currents. On the one hand, the pressure of those who were impatient indicated that the appropriate time for the implementation

of the Nominal Group Process had arrived. On the other hand, the sharp questioning of the worker's motivation and the concern over who controlled the group indicated that a longer testing and ventilation process was indicated. Implementing the Nominal Group Process at that time meant cutting off discussion and required that the author impose a very structured and controlled process.

As described earlier, the instructions are very precise. The worker selects the question with no room for discussion, and for the next two hours or so the participants are guided by brief commands through a process they don't understand and which looks like a waste of time. The author assumes that this is a key factor in the resentment elicited by the Nominal Group Process. With a group such as the one assembled for this project, the organizer feared that the reaction against the process would be even more intense as a result of their present lack of trust in her as well as their concern over "caudillismo" (dictatorship).

Under the circumstances, the author decided to postpone using the Nominal Group Process until the third meeting. The rationale was that doing so would allow the entire second meeting to be dedicated to an exchange

between the members and the author, with the expectation that this interaction would facilitate the initiation of a trusting relationship. It was also anticipated that by the third meeting the members who were already impatient would be even more so, and would influence others to move off the general discussion into something more concrete.

Once the pressure of time was removed, the organizer was free to relax and engage in an open discussion about her philosophy and analysis of the political situation affecting the new immigrants. She also had the opportunity to speak about problem identification and priority setting as concrete accomplishments and as movement toward getting the project underway. The strategy worked, for participants who had met the author earlier, during the interviews with key informants, came to her aid, legitimizing her motives and genuine interest in the Dominican community. It also paved the way for the implementation of the Nominal Group Process at the next meeting, because at the end of the meeting the organizer was able to say, "I agree with Mr. M. The time has come to stop talking and to move ahead with concrete proposals for action. Therefore, at the next meeting the first agenda item will be to identify our priorities and get on with

the organizing." Everyone agreed and a third meeting was scheduled. Each individual also agreed to take responsibility for telling those who had not shown up about this next meeting and to urge them to attend.

At the third meeting, after a brief exchange of greetings, the organizer took the initiative in forcefully moving the group to the implementation of the Nominal Group Process. Its history was given, followed by the reasons the organizer thought it would be a good vehicle to get the group moving. A light touch was used in referring to the Hispanic tendency to talk a lot and complain about nothing happening, and about the need to clearly identify the purpose of the group before embarking on developing a program. The participants were also warned that they might experience doubts about the process, but asked to trust the organizer and go through with it.

Based on the author's experience with the process and with the time constraint (only one hour and forty-five minutes of meeting time available), the process had been modified, eliminating the second weighting of alternatives and using only the ranking. Another modification was that the group was not divided in half, which would have been

the case if the original design of a maximum of eight participants per group had been adhered to. The reason for not adhering completely to Van den Ven and Delbeck's original design was that a primary purpose was to speed up the group development process, which would not have been helped by dividing the group. Having a larger group required the allocation of extra time to some steps and the shortening of others. For the schedule used see Appendix G.

Evaluation of Impact of the Nominal Group Process

Based on the evidence available, the author reached the conclusion that the Nominal Group Process proved to be an excellent organizing and group development tool under the circumstances described. This was demonstrated in a number of ways.

First, it drew the attention of the participants away from past failures and fears of future disappointments by forcing them to stop their interaction and concentrate on writing their answers to the question posed by the researcher.

Second, it gave everyone a clear message that there was complete equality among those participating.

Members with only a high school education had exactly the same tasks as those with Ph.D.'s and M.D.'s. Their opinions were also weighted exactly the same.

Third, the Nominal Group Process reliance on voting and on ordering priorities according to number of points attained by each item, irrespective of who proposed it, gave a clear message to those fearful of a "take over" that the organizer was a fair person who would choose only democratic processes in order to reach agreement among different points of view.

Fourth, it produced a concrete and tangible listing of issues on which to work. In so doing, it also moved the group substantially toward agreement on goals, programmatic objectives and strategy for action.

Fifth, the process organized the issues identified into a comprehensive list of problems, in a priority order to which everyone felt committed.

Sixth, the highly structured process allowed an efficient use of time and gave everyone a great sense of accomplishment.

Seventh, because the process was perceived as fair, open and democratic, it facilitated the reaching of consensus on strategy among people with very different

points of view without interpersonal conflicts. There were no winners and no losers.

Eighth, this early agreement proved to be extremely useful, in helping each member conceptualize the meaning of the group just formed, and in providing clear parameters for the work in months to come. The list generated was used as guidelines by two sub-committees charged with preparing a draft by-laws and a proposed action plan.

Ninth, to the surprise of the organizer, results of the cohesiveness questionnaire showed the highest level of cohesiveness immediately after the process.

It is suggested that community organizers consider using the Nominal Group Process as an organizing tool. At the same time, caution should be exercised. The Nominal Group Process should not be used unless the organizer is thoroughly familiar with it, and careful planning must be used, including in the choosing and phrasing of the question.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT: FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

The intent of this project was to organize a Hispanic group other than Puerto Ricans, guided by the theoretical propositions and practice principles discussed in the text, with a view to eventually extending the work, if successful, to other nationalities. The Dominicans were selected as the target group because they are one of the largest Hispanic groups migrating to the United States (second only to the Mexicans), and because of the close historical ties between Cuba (the country of origin of the author) and the Dominican Republic. It was reasoned that this close relationship between the two countries would facilitate the minimizing of social distance between the organizer and the community members, which was to be one of the principles guiding the project.

The Project

The project focused on a specific location within a major metropolitan area in which one of the largest

concentrations of Dominicans can be found. The approach used was based on the work of Hunter (1953) and called for the identification of informal leaders through the use of key informants. The field work took place from 1979 to 1982, with an interruption of over a year due to an accident to the author which prevented her from doing extensive walking. The interviews with key informants and informal leaders were concluded in the spring of 1981, and the first meeting of the selected group took place in June of that year.

The participants continued to meet regularly, and adopted by-laws and became a formally established group in January of 1982. Work plans were developed during the spring, and by June of 1982 it was obvious that a level of maturity and cohesion had been achieved which would allow the survival of the group long after the project was completed. It can be stated that the group has achieved a life of its own and no longer depends on the author for its maintenance.

Summary of Findings and Implications

This section summarizes those findings the author considers most important, along with their implications for community organization. Whenever appropriate,

generalizations are drawn. First, the community organization methodology and process are presented; following that is a discussion of the material on the target group. The order of presentation does not necessarily reflect order of importance.

The allocation of a considerable amount of time (almost six months) to learn as much as possible about the target community proved invaluable. The insights obtained, both from extensive readings on the history, political and cultural background of the Dominican Republic, and from the visit to the Island, made it possible to bridge any gap between the author's own background and that of the key informants and potential leaders. It should be noted that great care was exercised in selecting reading from many different fields and, within each field, works representative of diverse points of view. The literature reviewed included history, political science, economics, anthropology, poetry and music.

The author's visit to the Island was essential to the success of the project. It permitted observation of the people in their own environment and an opportunity to understand their way of thinking and viewing the world as no library research could ever have achieved. Gaining a

sense of the geography of the various regions contributed to a deeper understanding of the character of the people. The direct observation of their behavior, child rearing practices, daily struggles, interactions among themselves and with foreigners, in short of every detail of their daily lives, greatly enhanced the author's identification with the aspirations of the Dominican people and made for an even more genuine interest in their fate as migrants.

This preliminary phase also made it apparent that sharing a common language and ethnic background is not in itself enough. While the different countries of Hispano America have many things in common, the unique experience of the peoples from each country create special characteristics and idiosyncrasies which must be recognized and understood.

Once the differences between the organizer and the target group are clarified, it is necessary to search for traits and characteristics they share. This can help establish that sufficient similarities exist to enable the organizer to understand and advance the aspirations of the group. In this particular project, the organizer possessed certain characteristics which made this task relatively easy. Not only did she share the common language

and Hispanic heritage of the target group, but her paternal great-grandparents had settled in the Dominican Republic before migrating to Cuba, and some of her relatives still lived in the Dominican Republic at the time of the project. These circumstances contributed to the ability to operationalize a key guiding principle, namely that the worker shall act to minimize social distance.

Another aspect of the strategy to enter the community and establish a working relationship with its members, and one which helps account for the success of the project, was the author's openness at every step of the process about her own stake in the project. It is known that clients are usually suspicious about the motivations of workers. By the organizer putting her agenda on the table from the beginning, the development of a trusting relationship was facilitated.

One of the findings which this author considers important is the applicability of Hunter's (1953) approach to the identification of potential leaders. In Hunter's original work, the leaders identified were persons who, due to their economic, social or political positions, were already a part of the established power structure with enough power to influence major decisions

in the towns and cities in which they lived. In this project, the approach used was to identify persons who had not yet achieved such positions, but who had, however, distinguished themselves among their fellow Dominicans to the extent that their names kept coming up during interviews with key informants, many of whom were not Dominicans. The behavior of those identified, and their individual characteristics and personal interests, sufficiently resemble the qualities of leaders which Dahl (1961), using a completely different approach from Hunter, identified, as to give support to the notion that these individuals are likely to become the formal leaders of the Dominican community. Of course, individual circumstances will influence the ultimate outcome in each case, but it would be interesting, and of professional relevance, to follow each of them in a longitudinal study designed to assess how far they go in the power structure of the city and the local community in the next five to ten years.

A related issue has to do with the selection of those to be invited after the initial identification of potential leaders were made. Since not everyone so identified was invited, this selection process would have to be taken into account in evaluating the effectiveness of

the reputational approach.

Four criteria were used in the selection process. First, Hunter's approach was used to make the initial identification of potential candidates. Second, the findings from Schachter's (1968) studies on the relationship between an individual's initial interest in a group and length of his/her stay in that group and contributions to it, were used to screen out those less likely to contribute. Only those who agreed with the assumptions and goals of the project as defined by the author were asked to participate in the needs assessment process and to join in the proposed group.

The third criterion was the reputation of the candidate in terms of professional and personal integrity. Those candidates who were said to have violated the norms of conduct expected of them by their peers were not invited to participate, even when they had met the two initial criteria. The same was the case with candidates who belonged to the political party opposed by the majority of the key informants and potential leaders. Thus political affiliation was the fourth criterion.

As discussed earlier, the exclusion of candidates based on the last two criteria was not intended to be

permanent, but rather to guide the author's initial selection in order to permit the establishment of the group. It was expected that once the group was constituted, the process of participation would be open to the Dominican community in general, including those initially excluded. This understanding was accepted by the Board after it was organized, and no individual or group was excluded from the meetings organized with the community.

It is important not to be distracted here by getting into a philosophical discussion as to the role of the worker. The central issue is that someone must have a clear conceptualization of the problem posed and concrete alternatives for its solution, and be able to obtain the support of a core of individuals who agree in principle with the general formulation. The organizer must be ready to accept this initial responsibility, as was the case in this project.

As the group developed further ideas were refined, the complexity of the problems emerged, alternatives were identified and priorities were set. With each meeting the author's participation was reduced and the members played a more central role in terms of policy formulation. When the first Board of Directors was formally established, the

author became a member. This action further equalized the participation of all involved. As responsibilities were distributed, the author took the more technical tasks and the community members were assigned the tasks relating to policy and program.

Throughout the initial phases the role of the author/worker was close to that of a promoter/organizer in a business corporation. During the organizing process, the author's role was not a static one, but kept shifting according to the needs of the group. It was a classic example of what Brager and Spech (197) call the "missing role." By this they mean that in any given situation the organizer must take responsibility for helping define tasks which have to be done, and then help select the person best suited for the job, who may be anyone in the group, including the organizer.

The sampling strategy, and specifically the requirement that candidates must agree with the assumptions and goals of the project, was very effective. As can be seen in Table 7, none of the candidates invited by the author to participate had to be dropped for lack of attendance, nor did any withdraw. In contrast, three out of four, or 75 percent, of those invited by someone else had to be dropped.

TABLE 7

RESULTS OF SAMPLING STRATEGY

	Female	Male	Total
Total key informants identified	12	41	53
Total key informants interviewed	9	24	33
Key informants interviewed personally	8	20	28
Key informants interviewed by phone	1	4	5
Persons mentioned twice or more (includes key informants)	3	22	25
Invited to participate initially (directly by author)	3	9	12
Responded by attending meetings between June 1981 and January 30, 1982.	1	7	8
Attended meetings between June 1981 and January 30, 1982 but not identified previously nor invited by author	1	3	4
Of the eight informal leaders initially invited by author, number dropped or withdrew	0	0	0
Of the four invited by someone else, number dropped or withdrew	0	3	3
Reinstated after January 30, 1982	0	2	2
Composition of group up to January 30, 1982 (excludes author)	2	9	11
Expanded group, after January 30, 1982 (includes author)	5	10	15

It should, however, be noted that the above results could also reflect a different level of clarity in the description of the group conveyed to the candidate. The author went to great lengths to explain the assumptions, goals and expectations of the proposed group. She also gave a tentative idea of how much time and effort would be required of each member. In other words, an informal contract was carefully outlined, and each person who decided to attend had a very clear idea of what to expect. In the cases in which other members extended the invitation, it is not known what degree of clarity was used in defining the group and its purposes.

As discussed in Chapter V, there had been several attempts to organize some type of action group among the Dominicans in the same area in which this project took place. Some of these efforts involved several of the participants in this project. All of these efforts failed. The author did not conduct an in depth study of any of these earlier efforts, and therefore a thorough analysis and comparison is not possible. Nonetheless, there was a key difference between the approach used by those earlier initiatives and the one used in this project.

The early initiatives relied on organizing

through established groups, using what can be more or less described as a "community council" approach. From accounts of those among the key informants and informal leaders who were involved, it appears that vested interests of individual groups prevented the success of those efforts. A comparison between the outcome of those efforts and that of this project indicates that the corporate structure may be the approach of choice, at least as an initial step, when working to organize disenfranchised constituencies. In addition, the success of this project seems to indicate that research findings on small groups in the laboratory pertaining to size, selection and composition of the group are equally valid in the field when the purpose is not a broadly-based, representative group.

The work of this group also demonstrates that it is possible to develop an effective action group with collective leadership, and without the traditional structure of an executive committee and officers. To what extent this would be possible with a group larger than fifteen members is of course an open question.

While the formal group structure was avoided, in order for the group to function it was necessary to form task-oriented sub-groups with on-going coordinators. It

was also necessary to devise a system of rotating overall coordinators who acted as chairs from meeting to meeting. Thus it can be generalized that a system of collective leadership which distributes the leadership role among all members is feasible in this size group as long as there is a systematic way to allocate specific responsibilities to different members. It remains to be seen to what extent this group can become incorporated and receive funding from private and public sources without the usual structure and officers.

The Nominal Group Process was found to be an excellent instrument to promote the development of an action group. While its nature dictates careful selection of the timing for its use, this is not completely different from any other intervention the organizer might choose to employ. A point to keep in mind is that if used prematurely, the Nominal Group Process may inhibit development of group cohesion because of the lack of interaction among the members during its implementation. However, the fact that at the end of the process the members can see concrete results and be able to relate to specific issues provides them with a sense of movement toward their goal, which acts as a motivation to continue the change effort. This impact of the

Nominal Group Process is consistent with Lippit's (1958) view that one of the motivating forces toward change is the momentum gained by initial results.

In this regard, additional motivation is generated by the effort each participant has to make in order to contribute to the process. That personal effort helps each individual see the product as a direct result of his/her efforts, thereby constituting another important element in fostering motivation to continue a change effort.

Insofar as findings regarding the Dominican community are concerned, several warrant special attention.

Among the Dominicans in the target area there are two basic outlooks on the process and end result of their migration to the United States. One outlook sees the Dominican migration within the context of the continuing process of people's migrations in general, and it is compared to the movement of earlier European settlers. Persons with this perspective hold that sooner or later the Dominicans, like everyone else before them, will succeed in the city and be assimilated into the main culture.

The other perspective examines the different social and economic conditions in the United States now as compared to the situation when earlier migrants arrived,

and concludes that without an organized effort to address the needs of the new migrants, the consequences of the migratory process would be much more devastating for them than for earlier migrants. Persons with this perspective also subscribe to the concept that incorporation into the mainstream in this country should not result in complete absorption into the dominant culture. The Hispanic culture in general and the Dominican in particular is seen as having an important contribution to make within this society.

The first two propositions guiding this project were supported. First, it was established that the Dominicans in the metropolitan area do not belong in any significant manner to groups having responsibility for allocation of resources, policy formulation or program development. This is the case in relation to public as well as private decision-making mechanisms. Two Dominicans are members of the local School Board, but feel overpowered by the absence of an organized constituency to support them. They also believe that the fact that there are only two of them in itself demonstrates a lack of recognition of the reality that the majority of the children in that particular community's public schools are Dominicans. A number

of voluntary organizations and clubs which constitute an important affective support system have been organized in the target area, but they do not play an instrumental role in bringing Dominicans into the community power structure.

The second proposition guiding the project was supported primarily by two characteristics which make this particular national group different from others, and especially different from the groups represented at the decision making levels. First is their intense orientation toward the Dominican Republic, an orientation which may be stronger and more actively played out than is the case with other immigrant groups, as well as the way in which they regard their stay in the United States as temporary. This attitude, while helping them retain their ethnic identity, works against them by preventing many persons from becoming citizens and participating in the political process. In addition, internal politics in the Dominican Republic have such a profound impact on the affairs and relationships of Dominican groups in the target area that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Dominicans from the two major political parties to participate together in the same group.

The second characteristic unique to this group is

the large number of undocumented aliens among them, which not only renders them more vulnerable to exploitation, but also projects a distorted image about the total group which may further promote their exclusion from the decision making process.* In this regard, it is important to reiterate that (1) second only to the Mexicans, Dominicans represent the largest Hispanic group migrating to the United States; (2) the majority of Dominicans migrating to this country were either born in or at least lived in urban areas for a significant length of time before coming to the United States; and (3) the large majority of Dominican migrants are literate, about 50 percent having completed either high school or college.

Limitations of the Study and Changes from Original Design

As with the summary of findings and conclusions, the order in which the limitations are discussed is not a function of their relative importance. In fact, to some extent the order relates to the chronology of the project.

The background of the author was a key factor in the process, and from this point of view the study may not

*In this respect they resemble the Haitians, who are also excluded from decision-making positions.

be replicable. However, this is a fact in any type of worker-client interaction, from the one-to-one relationship to work with groups and communities. The unique contribution that the personality and individual characteristics of the change agent make to the process has been recognized by many disciplines, including psychiatry and cultural anthropology. Therefore, this is a limitation inherent in this type of change process.

But while the special mix of background, ethnicity, life experience and so forth is unique to each individual organizer, the author also possesses certain attributes which are not unique and which contributed highly to the success of the organizing process. Warmth and an accepting personality are two major characteristics. A genuine expression of concern and the promotion of a process which engenders friendship with the client system are closely related to the above. Openness and the ability to create a trusting atmosphere are also central. Finally, the avoidance of an impersonal, "professional" attitude is very important, particularly when working with clients whose orientation is more toward "being" than "doing," as discussed in the introduction. With such client groups a detached attitude lends itself to being misinterpreted as

lack of interest, and may place a social distance between client and worker which could hinder the change effort.

One of the changes made in the course of the project relates to the previous limitation. Originally, it was planned to use the Bales Interaction Process Analysis to measure the development of group cohesiveness. This plan called for nonparticipant observers to be present at the meetings or to listen to tapes made at each meeting. The author very soon realized that either of the two approaches would interfere with the process, and therefore this was not done. As a result the author alone worked with the group, and the evaluation of outcome relies on a sole source who happens to be the organizer.

The sampling strategy initially relied to a great extent on information provided by one individual. This limitation was mitigated by the fact that the person in question was a researcher who had met the individuals he identified in the course of his own research. This circumstance is thought to have introduced an element of objectivity and impartiality to the process. Analysis of the background on those key informants identified through this researcher shows that they represent a rather wide range of ages, come from a variety of geographic areas,

and are from diverse ideological and political backgrounds. In fact, when the decision had to be made as to how to proceed given the nonfeasibility of mixing persons from the two major political parties in the Dominican Republic, it was found that this original list contained both factions in almost equal numbers. Based on the need to segregate the two groups, some of the key informants identified by the researcher who met the criteria for informal leader were invited to participate, and others were not.

The necessity of introducing political ideology as a criterion for selection of participants was a major limitation from the point of view of the representativeness of the group eventually organized. Although the goal of the project was not to obtain a group representative of the Dominican community, neither was it to establish a nonrepresentative group. However, in keeping with the methodology followed, the group which emerged as the product of the project had to exclude one segment of the migrant Dominican community.

The need to have a degree of flexibility in order to accommodate the views of those identified as informal leaders gave rise to some of the study's limitations. The exclusion mentioned above was one. A second serious

limitation was the breakdown in the criteria for selection that ensued when community members who had not met any of the project's criteria were invited by those invited by the author. There were two occasions on which this happened. The first took place at the beginning of the process, in fact at the time of the first meeting in June, 1981. At that time, several persons appeared for the meeting who had not been invited by the author. The same situation occurred at the second meeting. However, in the long run this breakdown in the criteria for selection did not significantly affect the outcome in terms of group composition, since three out of the four persons who were brought into the group in this manner did not continue beyond the third out of ten meetings. Furthermore, their behavior in failing to remain with the group helped to validate the criteria for selection, by offering a serendipitous comparison group.

The second occasion of the selection process breaking down occurred when the group, as a newly constituted body, decided to expand membership and increase its number to fifteen. However, at that time they established criteria for those to be invited as well as a very structured procedure for induction into the group. Because of the

difference in procedure between this process and the earlier one mentioned above, this last occasion is not considered a limitation. Also, the decision was not implemented until after January 30, 1982, the day the group was formally constituted and the official cut-off date for the project.

One other departure from the original design relates to the selection criteria. The original plan called for the Cohesiveness Questionnaire to be applied at the first interview with an informal leader or resource person, and its results used in the process of selecting those to be invited. The results were also to be used to eliminate potential participants, in case the numer of these exceeded the established maximum of fifteen. Once the project implementation began, the author realized that asking a person to fill out a questionnaire at the first interview would be likely to interfere with the development of a working relationship, and would focus unnecessarily on the research aspect of the project, moving the discussion away from the interest of the Dominican community. For this reason it was decided not to use the questionnaire at that time, but to postpone its utilization until the end of the first meeting.

This change meant that the selection would rely more on the subjective impressions of the author than on any empirical evidence. It was fortunate that the number of candidates did not exceed fifteen, and consequently that there was no need to make judgments about the relative interest of one candidate versus another. The cases in which a decision was made not to invite someone who did meet the criteria of interest and number of times mentioned related to the candidate's lack of adherence to the norms of the community or to political activities in opposition to the majority of the other candidates.

As shown in Figures 2 and 3, there were several other departures from the original design. Originally, the Nominal Group Process was scheduled to take place at the second meeting. As discussed in Chapter 6, this was not done, because it was judged to be contraindicated in terms of group development. The need for this change again points to the importance of being alert for situations which do not evolve as planned, and being ready to incorporate changes as long as they do not substantially alter the nature of the project or its design.

A similar situation occurred in relation to the planned inclusion of leaders from other minority

communities, and of experts in the areas of concern of the group, whose participation had been planned for the third and fourth meetings. Such participation was completely eliminated once the members took control of the process, which occurred immediately after the implementation of the Nominal Group Process. It may still take place, but not as a part of the original design and in a completely different form.

Election of temporary officers had been contemplated to take place by the fifth meeting. As the group developed, a completely different structure was chosen, as discussed earlier (see Chapter IV), and therefore the election was unnecessary. It may take place in the future on a pro forma basis if that is a prerequisite to obtaining the legal incorporation of the group and its funding by private or public agencies. Such action would be consistent with the need of organizations to respond to the environment in order to survive.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE (OUTLINE)

Reaction to project assumptions.

Who would you say are other key informants, persons knowledgeable about the Dominicans in the city?

Could you name some Dominicans who could be regarded as leaders of the Dominican community?

Can you provide me with a list of Dominican organizations?

What is the nature of those organizations?

From your perspective, can you tell me what role the church plays in the Dominican community?

Which are the major problems faced by the Dominicans and the Dominican community in the city?

Do you know and can you tell me about previous efforts at organizing the Dominican community?

APPENDIX B

FACE SHEET

Date of first contact:

Name:

Nationality:

Address (business):

Telephone (office):

Telephone (home):

Identified by:

Affiliations:

Follow-up remarks:

Record of contacts:

Key informant ___
Informal leader ___
Resource person ___

Interested in joining:
Yes ___
No ___

Agreement/Disagreement with Project Assumptions:

Major Problems/Issues Identified:

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF MY PROJECT

(CONFIDENTIAL - Not to be reproduced or quoted in any way)

Prepared only for information purposes for the leaders of the Dominican Community.

Dr. Ana O. Dumois
Assistant Professor
1) University School of Social Work

1) Telephone
Secretary
Home

This project is undertaken as part of my doctoral work at Hunter College School of Social Welfare.

1) Data has been deleted for the purpose of preventing identification of target area.

Introduction:

I have a Doctorate in Pharmacology and teach at University Graduate School of Social Work. To continue in academic life I have to obtain a Doctorate in Social Work or related field. I am in the process of completing a Doctorate in Social Welfare at the Graduate Center of the City University.

My thesis work is a community organization project since that is my specialization. I decided the time I have to invest in the project should at the same time benefit the Hispanic community of New York or a segment of it. I have selected the Dominican community because

1. It is the largest Hispanic group in the City after the Puerto Ricans.
2. Cuba and Dominican Republic are very close geographically and historically. Can we forget that the General-in-Chief-of our Army in the War of Independence was that great military leader, Maximo Gomez?
3. My father's family came to Cuba from Puerto Plata and Sosua and my only surviving uncle (father's side) lives in St. Domingo.

Goals and Objectives:

The overall goal of the program is to promote the incorporation of the needs and aspirations of the immigrants from the Dominican Republic into the policies and programs of agencies serving them; and to maximize

their opportunity for an equal and just sharing of community resources.

The objectives are:

1. to identify key people to whom immigrants from Santa Domingo turn to for help and who constitute the informal leaders of the community.
2. to involve them in a process of needs assessment as a vehicle to
3. establish an organization to work on behalf of the Dominican community towards the goals mentioned above.

This project is based on the following assumptions:

1. Being a newly arrived group the Dominicans are not likely to be represented in decision making groups and agencies serving them.
2. Because of the above, the specific and unique needs of the Dominican community are probably ignored and not properly attended to.
3. The situation will not change without an active and effective Dominican community, organized for the purpose of making its needs known and getting Dominicans elected and/or appointed to policy making positions in public and private agencies.

Methodology:

1. Identify and interview key informants,
2. Identify and interview informal leaders and resource persons,
3. Get a group of informed leaders together with the purpose of
   A. Identifying needs and setting priorities
   B. Developing an action plan to address the needs identified in light of the priorities selected.

Timetable:

I have already interviewed a number of key informants and informal leaders. Will complete interview in September.

Would like to have a group meeting at beginning of October and if the group decides to continue, hold about 4 to 5 more meetings and begin writing a proposal seeking funds for the group. I will provide technical assistance to the group in writing the proposal and will assist in arranging meetings with private foundations.

APPENDIX D

NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS:
PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION (INSTITUTIONAL)

On this sheet list only organizational and environmental difficulties which are (objective) problems and obstacles faced by the Dominicans in the city.

APPENDIX E

NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS:
PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION (INDIVIDUALS)

On this sheet list only personal feelings and emotions which are (subjective) problems and obstacles experienced by the Dominicans in the city.

APPENDIX F

NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS: PRIORITY LIST

Item No.	Rank of Item	Total Value Points	Item No.	Rank of Item	Total Value Points
1			29		
2			30		
3			31		
4			32		
5			33		
6			34		
7			35		
8			36		
9			37		
10			38		
11			39		
12			40		
13			41		
14			42		
15			43		
16			44		
17			45		
18			46		
19			47		
20			48		
21			49		
22			50		
23			51		
24			52		
25			53		
26			54		
27			55		
28			56		

APPENDIX G

SCHEDULE FOR NOMINAL GROUP PROCESS
MODIFIED FOR USE WITH PROJECT GROUP

Activity	Time
Brief explanation and distribution of list form and five cards.	5 min.
Private suggestions--no talking.	10 min.
Private selection--circle five most important problems from total.	5 min.
List circled problems on newsprint sheets. . . .	30 min.
Group discussion to clarify meaning or eliminate duplication. Not to discuss relative merits of problems.	15 min.
Selection of five most important problems among those listed. Enter one problem per card	5 min.
Ranking of problems--write "5" on most important, "1" on least important, and so on . .	5 min.
Enter votes on newsprint sheet	30 min.
Reaction to results and process itself	15 min.

APPENDIX H

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF TARGET AREA

The target area for the project is located within a major metropolitan area of the Eastern United States with a population of over 6 million persons as per the 1980 Census. The metropolitan area experienced an overall decline of 10.4 percent from 1970 to 1980 with only about one-fifth of the local areas actually gaining population.. The target area was among these. It is significant to notice that the increase in total population in the area took place despite a "natural decrease" (aggregate number of deaths exceeded the aggregate number of births) in its population. This means that the growth in absolute number of persons in the area was due to net migration.

Race and ethnicity. The black population has declined in the area and currently constitutes about 25%. At the same time the Hispanic population has increased and now represents over 50% of the local population. Within the Hispanic population, Puerto Ricans represent less than 25% and non-Puerto Rican Hispanics represent the majority.

Age and household size. The area had started to change the composition of its population prior to 1970 as initial residents started to move out. They left

large proportions of elderly which accounts for the "natural decrease" in population. As the elderly moved on or died, they have been replaced by younger families of largely foreign-born Hispanics. This trend has caused an increase in the average household size between 1970 and 1980. While the immediate area shows an average household size of 1.9, the target area's household size ranges between 2.26 and 2.74.

Selected health indicators. An analysis of selected health indicators for the area as compared to the larger metropolitan area shows some difference as can be seen in the tables below. The difference is consistent with the change in the population experienced by the area in the last 10 years.

Geographic Area	Infant Mortality Rate (1)	Neonatal Mortality Rate (2)	Live Birth Rate (3)	Low-weight Birth Rate (4)
Metropolitan	14.5	10.9	12.9	9.2
Target area	12.9	9.1	18.6	8.4

1. Infant deaths under one year per 1,000 live births.
2. Infant deaths under 28 days per 1,000 live births.
3. Live births per 100,000 population.
4. Live births under 2,501 grams per as percentage of live births.

Sources: Local Health Department, Vital Statistics by Health Areas and Health Center Districts, 1979.

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